

The Antiquaries Journal

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VOLUME XXVIII

JULY-OCTOBER 1948

NUMBERS 3, 4

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BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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- English arguments concerning the feudal status of Aquitaine in the fourteenth century. By PIERRE CHAPLAIN
- The Oxford session of the Long Parliament of Charles II, 9-31 October 1665. By CAROLINE ROBBINS
- Report on the military papers of Field-Marshal Sir George Nugent, Bart. (1757-1849), in the Royal United Service Institution Library. By T. H. MCGUFFIE
- Select Document: A neglected record of the Canterbury election of 1205-6. By C. R. CHENEY
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ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

By SIR CYRIL FOX, D.Litt., Ph.D., F.B.A., *President*

[Delivered 23rd April 1948, St. George's Day]

THIS Anniversary Address affords me the privilege of expressing the Society's congratulations to two of our Officers who have received Honours during the past year. Congratulations, first of all, to Miss M. V. Taylor, Vice-President, whose C.B.E. is specifically awarded for services to archaeology. Her long, distinguished, and selfless labours for Romano-British archaeology have made her a national figure, and the Haverfield Library at the Ashmolean Museum a clearing-house of knowledge. Congratulations to Sir James Mann, our Director, whose knighthood implies recognition of outstanding services to scholarship in Medieval and Renaissance craftsmanship and art; also of his services as Keeper of the Wallace Collection and as Master of the Tower Armouries—which have been so ably reorganized by him since the war.

Finance again claims a high place in the sequence of subjects I deal with. Our Treasurer has pointed out in trenchant terms, year by year, the inevitable effect on a static income of present trends in every field of our necessary expenditure. The main increase during the year 1947 has been on the Library account; but it has recently been necessary for the Council through the Finance Committee to review and increase staff salaries and wages. The latter addition to our annual outgoings represents no more than must be done to enable those who serve us so well to live without more anxiety than is imposed by conditions outside our corporate control.

On the Treasurer's advice the Council's first move to obtain the necessary increase of income was, it will be remembered, by inviting Fellows to enter into seven-year covenants in respect of their subscriptions. This scheme was widely supported, no less than 400 Fellows having signed the necessary papers, but it has already proved insufficient for our needs, and further efforts have been suspended owing to the uncertainty which now governs the operation of this privilege. The only further action which seemed open to the Council was to raise the entrance fee to twelve guineas and subscriptions of new Fellows to six guineas, and to ask all the present Fellows of the Society who can, to pay six guineas a year instead of four as from the beginning of the present year. Let me remind you that up to 1919 Fellows paid only three guineas a year; that the rise in prices resulting from the First World War made an advance to four guineas (in 1920) necessary; and that those who have studied the facts of the present situation regard an addition of two guineas in 1948 as moderate. We can only hope that inflation will be stayed and that

it will prove sufficient. The response to the Treasurer's printed request to present Fellows shows that the Council's decision is recognized to be inevitable, no less than 120 Fellows having paid their six guineas for the present year.

In connexion with his study of the Society's financial affairs the Treasurer has prepared an historical summary showing admission fees, compositions, and general funds for each decade of the century 1842-1941. Kept up to date, this will be a valuable basis for future consideration of financial matters by Committee and Council; and I hope to induce the Treasurer to write a paper on our financial history, based on it, for the *Journal*.

Benefaction. Throughout our long history the affection of Fellows for the Society and appreciation of its work have borne fruit in monetary gifts and bequests; our sharpened sense of need to-day makes doubly welcome the most generous donation of our Fellow Mr. I. D. Margary of fifteen hundred pounds, specifically for two *Research Reports* now in hand.

Publications. Since the last Anniversary Meeting volume xxvii of the *Journal* for the year 1947 has been issued, as has *Archaeologia*, volume xcii. Two of our Honorary Fellows, M. Jean Hubert, President of the Société des Antiquaires de France, and Comte Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac, wrote letters in praise of this volume, and both announce their intention of commenting on certain contributions therein at the next sitting of their Society. How agreeable it is to picture our friends marching in succession up to the rostrum each with his copy of *Archaeologia* under his arm! One Research Report has been issued, the long awaited and much appreciated Report No. XIV, on Camulodunum, by our Fellows Prof. C. F. C. Hawkes and Mr. M. R. Hull.

Papers read. I am encouraged by expressions of interest on the part of Fellows to repeat this year a subject analysis of papers read to the Society. As before titles only are mentioned, the names of authors being readily available in our printed *Proceedings*.

Prehistoric Archaeology is represented by two papers on field work in the Near East: 'Excavations at Atchana-Alalakh' and 'Excavations at Mersin', and by two studies of works of art: 'Bronzes found at Felmersham, Suffolk' and 'The Incised Design on a Celtic Mirror from Colchester'. To the Roman period belong 'Excavations at Canterbury' and 'Excavations beneath St. Peter's, Rome'; to the Dark Ages 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Caistor by Norwich'. 'Before the Book of Durrow: an Enquiry into the Beginning of Early Insular Book Decoration', and 'The Sutton Hoo Musical Instrument' added much to our knowledge of the seventh century. 'Excavations at Deddington Castle, Oxfordshire', illustrates the application of techniques evolved for Roman and prehistoric sites to medieval problems; 'All Hallows, Lombard Street: Excavation and Evolution' brackets Roman history and the Renaissance. 'Testamentary Brasses' and 'A Moorish Shield in the Armouries of the Tower of London' should next be mentioned. A group of Architectural papers—'Irish Tower Houses' and 'Castle Rushen, Isle of Man', 'The Development of Leicestershire Farmhouses and Cottages 1500-1700' and the 'Georgian Tradition in West Indian Architecture'—carry the sequence down to the nineteenth century and close the year's record.

Appreciation of individual papers, a tempting theme, is beyond my intention; but those Fellows who were present at the Sutton Hoo paper will not easily forgive me if I make no mention of a unique occasion—the production of a replica, based on work in the British Museum, of the seventh-century harp from the royal treasure, the playing of it by Mrs. Arnold Dolmetsch, and her expert running comment. The imagination of her listeners was kindled, not least that of *The Times* correspondent, as was manifest on the day following. I had, as Fellows know only too well, many suitable subjects for reconstruction in my mind, but never did I think that I might by such means hear the music which accompanied a tale of the Heroes in an Anglian hall; the 'Fight at Finnsburh', it may be, or *Beowulf*.

Exhibits. The practice of having exhibits at ballots as well as in association with papers read at General Meetings is now well established, and during the past twelve months an instructive series has been provided by Fellows and others. I select four to illustrate the range of interest: the Pedigree of Griffyth of Wichnor and Burton Agnes; the Seal of Abbot Simon de Blyton of Colchester; the Benty Grange Anglo-Saxon helmet; and a manuscript of the Gospels (MS. A. II, 10) from the Cathedral Library of Durham.

Research Fund. Further grants for work in our bombed cities—the City of London and Southwark, Canterbury, and Dover—have been made this year. Others represent, in range and character, more normal activity. These include grants for excavation at a 'pond' barrow at Winterbourne, and an early settlement site at Penygroes, Caernarvonshire; at Roman Chester and Sabrata, Tripolitania—a city in which the public buildings are exceptionally well preserved; at the earthwork known as the Roman Rig, Rotherham, Yorks., and at a Norman site, Ascot D'Oyley, Oxon. Also, a grant has been made for research on palaeolithic sites in Cyrenaica and another for the survey of ancient town houses in Chester; the latter an activity much after my own heart.

Library. The recataloguing and rearrangement of books and pamphlets has made good progress and improvements are being made in the card-index record. A start has been made in sorting, cataloguing, and arranging in portfolios a large number of drawings and engravings not hitherto organized. The collection of letters of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries written by Fellows of the Society on subjects of archaeological interest have been catalogued. Great interest has been shown by Fellows in the 700 duplicates not needed by the Library which are for sale; for many items in wide demand lots will have to be drawn.

In connexion with a Note published in the *Journal* on the 'Chair of the Noviomagians', in the Society's possession,¹ a number of items for the Library concerning the Society of Noviomagians were exhibited at a ballot.

Grants from the Morris Fund. Six grants from this fund have been made; of special interest are those for the setting up and permanent exhibition of the Anglian stones at Monkwearmouth, Durham, and the repair of Kelmscott village cross.

T. V. Wheeler Fund. The Committee of this fund has been reconstituted: I draw attention to the fact that no application for a grant has been received since the war.

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xxvii, 183.

The Progress of Archaeology in the Universities. This year we have the satisfaction of recording the establishment of a Professorship of the Archaeology of the Roman Provinces by the University of London, tenable at the Institute of Archaeology, the first holder being, most fittingly, Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E. A Chair of Indian Archaeology has been founded by the same University, the first holder being Professor K. de B. Codrington. A Lectureship in Romano-British Archaeology has been founded at Leeds University; our Fellow Mr. W. V. Wade has been appointed. A Rankin Lectureship in the Prehistoric Archaeology of Western Europe has been set up at Liverpool, the first holder being our Fellow Mr. T. G. E. Powell, and Dr. K. D. M. Dauncey has been appointed to a Lectureship in Archaeology at Birmingham University. A 'Special Lectureship' in British Archaeology has been established at the University College of the South West, Exeter, the first holder being our Fellow Lady Fox.

Such extension of archaeological teaching as is here indicated—and the rising tide of interest in our subject in the universities has not yet reached its limit—provokes and demands thought as to how the opportunity is to be grasped, the great opportunity thus afforded us archaeologists of bringing our new knowledge bearing on the history, art, and technology of ancient civilizations, and our new outlook on the problems of the past generally, into the main stream of cultural tradition in Britain that the universities foster and in a measure create.

The Inaugural Lecture at Oxford of our Fellow Professor C. F. C. Hawkes published under the title *Archaeology and the History of Europe*, defining as it does the range, purpose, and claims of archaeology, is admirably suited as a basis for such a discussion; to him 'archaeology belongs in full fellowship to the body of history', and he will do his best to play his 'archaeologist's part in tune with the general harmony [i.e. of the University teaching], no less than to help particularly those who may want to take up its practice for themselves'. This provoked, as might be expected, a friendly but critical reaction from Cambridge, which has long had its honours school of Anthropology and Archaeology; our Fellow Mr. Miles Burkitt, reviewing this Lecture in *Nature*, affirmed that archaeology is a subject in its own right, a subject worthy of an honours school, and stressed the scientific aspect of our studies. He concludes, however, philosophically, that there is room in British teaching for both modes of approach. There is indeed; and, in practice, of many variations in detail. One question which needs consideration would appear to be: Is it better for a newly founded lectureship in archaeology in a provincial university to be free from affiliations, or attached to a Department—let us say History, Classics, or Geography? I have myself observed in one university the disadvantages of isolation, and have no doubt what the answer should in general be.

It is, moreover, to be hoped that as the teaching of prehistoric, Roman, and post-Roman archaeology extends in our universities, the good practices already operating at more than one such centre of promoting the study of the relevant Regional archaeology, of supporting the local archaeological societies, and of encouraging the curators in the local museums in their valuable and often ill-paid work, will also extend. The practice of establishing contact for the benefit of students with

archaeologists carrying out field work within reach of the university, or of initiating such work for the training of students, again, should become standard.

It is a pleasure to refer in connexion with educational matters to the establishment, by decree of the Turkish Government, of the British School of Archaeology at Ankara, which was formally opened by the Turkish Minister of Education on 15th January. Our Fellow Professor John Garstang becomes the first Director. The school will inherit a great British tradition of research in Turkish lands, so rich in ancient sites, and while adding to those laurels, will, we are sure, maintain and develop close and friendly relations with Turkish field workers and students, to the lasting benefit of our science. A programme of excavation is now in preparation.

The National Register of Archives. The work of the National Register of Archives carried on by a special branch of the Historical Monuments Commission at the Public Record Office, greatly appreciated by historians and economists, is perhaps not well enough known to the general body of Fellows. It is pointed out that writings thus characterized, which accumulate naturally during the conduct of affairs of any kind, are very liable to destruction when the organizations to which they are important become defunct, or when they relate to activities so remote from our present circumstances as to appear worthless to those concerned with everyday business. It is urged that the risks of serious losses to knowledge are to-day particularly acute with the break-up of estates, salvage drives, and shortage of business accommodation.

The staff of the Register seeks to get in touch with custodians and owners of such groups of documents, primarily for the purpose of card-indexing; and Fellows of the Society who may know of archives in their own locality, or have information to give about local collectors, are asked to write to the P.R.O.

The Rockefeller Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem. At the request of Fellows of the Society concerned, I addressed a letter to *The Times* on 24th February expressing deep concern for the safety of the Rockefeller Museum at Jerusalem, and our fear that this important building with its great collections might be the scene of fighting when British officials were evacuated. A much appreciated reply by our Fellow Mr. R. W. Hamilton in the same journal, reinforced by private advices, was reassuring; it is certain that all that can reasonably be done by our Government will be, but anxiety must remain.

'Type' Archaeological Specimens in Britain. In the fields of biological science and palaeontology importance is attached to the preservation of 'type specimens'; specimens that is which were used for the initial definitive description of species in the literature, and on which the place of the species in the classification of organisms depends; Museums of Natural History are proud to be the possessors of such. We archaeologists should not be less concerned with monumental structures and portable objects figured in pioneer works and thereafter in standard text-books, for on these discussions of the cultural character of successive periods has hinged, and the assessment of achievement in technical and cultural fields in early times has depended. In our country, as in others, such artifacts will increasingly be visited if they are monuments, increasingly studied in museums if they are portable, by our own and foreign students; and the secular progress of knowledge will demand,

from time to time, reassessment by renewed examination of their characters or cultural values.

It follows that the State Archaeological service should take particular pains to protect such monuments from the slow decay of neglect, or from destruction, by all means available to its officers; and that some control ought to be exercised over, or an expert advisory service available for, portable antiquities of the character and quality referred to, so that they may be well cared for and accessible.

These reflections derive from incidents of a summer holiday spent in Scotland. In Caithness visits to the great horned cairns of Yarhouse (Yarrows) and Camster, and the high-vaulted round cairn near by the latter monument, were eagerly anticipated. The description of these by Joseph Anderson, who entered their ossuaries in the sixties of last century and described and published them in his Rhind lectures for 1882, had been in my mind for many years; I found them as remarkable in their situations, as astonishing in their bulk, as I had expected; but the decay and degradation resulting from prolonged neglect in all, and the evidence of very recent displacement of stones endangering or still further injuring the chambers surviving in two was depressing. As to this, who can blame the perpetrators? Since no care is taken of these ancient structures and no notices indicate their importance, the hiker doubtless sees in any one of them only a vast pile of stones; and what, then, does it matter if a few more of the stones be tumbled down for amusement? The resources and skill of the Ancient Monuments Department in Scotland are fully equal to dealing with structures in as bad condition as these; one has only to go to monuments under State guardianship in Orkney to appreciate the efficiency of its preservation technique. It is the policy of the Department that is here in question.

As for portable antiquities, the Pictish animal carvings in stone, mostly of the early seventh century, are recognized as works of art unique in the accuracy and vigour of their characterization, revealing an accomplished and individual technique. Rightly considered, the surviving examples—whether *in situ* or hacked from their monumental setting for easy transport—are among the most precious cultural relics in Scotland. All are figured in Romilly Allen's great corpus of 1903, so their provenances are well known to students. In a provincial museum, then, I looked for a Deer, a Wolf, and a Bull; all three—small and portable stones—lay dusty and uncared-for on a window-sill or near by on the floor associated with irrelevant fragments of carved stone of the modern age. The Bull was in two pieces, the fractured edges rubbed. Exposed in such a manner, these precious relics could hardly be regarded as secure even from theft.

I do not name the museum: the gallery in which they lay had many glass cases with objects well displayed, and the Curator whose attention was drawn to the matter expressed his regret. But what happened here might, I suppose, happen anywhere in Scotland except in the capital city; the Pictish stones were neglected, and other things cared for, because the persons responsible had a wrong sense of relative values. It is for the cultural leaders of a people to see that some organization is available to prevent or correct such lamentable mistakes. I would add that while these observations happened to be made in Scotland, neither England nor

Wales dare cast the first stone. Centralization of control is not the remedy likely to suit us; the 'Regional Federations' system of the Museums Association, actively in operation in many parts of Britain, seems to me admirably designed to provide education of the right kind. We shall, however, do well to watch the effect of a carefully graded scheme of central supervision now in operation in the local museums of France.¹

A presentation of the Gold Medal of the Society, 'for distinguished services to archaeology', is always an important occasion in our history; and at this Anniversary meeting I shall have the privilege of investing Sir Alfred Clapham—Companion of the Order of the British Empire, Fellow of the British Academy—with this medal. In these Rooms you will, I am sure, agree to acclaim him first of all for his services to archaeology through our Fellowship. Elected into the Society in 1913 he became Secretary in 1929 and was chosen as President in 1939. Thus from 1929 to 1944 he took an increasingly important part in our affairs, guiding Council and Committees wisely and competently during the war years. His judgements were the fruit of wide experience of men and manners; and his advice on knotty problems was, and is, eagerly sought. His handling as *ex officio* Chairman of the Congress of Archaeological Societies of the discussions which led to the formation of the new Council for British Archaeology so impressed the delegates that, as a mark of their appreciation, they resolved that the President of the new body for the first three years should be the President of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1945 Sir Alfred succeeded Professor Hamilton Thompson as President of the Royal Archaeological Institute, taking as active a part in its affairs as he did in those of our Society.

Sir Alfred's massive achievement as an archaeologist is widely recognized. We know him as a much travelled medievalist with profound knowledge of the architecture of Britain and western Europe and of the arts associated therewith, knowledge which extends into the Renaissance, and makes his companionship in a visit to abbey, cathedral, or the back streets of an English town a delightful experience. His classic volumes on *English Romanesque Architecture* before and after the Conquest, in which the conclusions of a lifetime of study of the ecclesiastical building of the period are most lucidly set forth, 'trace the whole progress of architectural design, structure, and decoration from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the twelfth century. His more general volume, *Romanesque Architecture in Western Europe*, brings English and continental developments into a coherent historical relationship'.² The weight attached by Continental scholars to his views on controversial subjects is well shown by Nils Åberg's treatment of his paper on 'The Origins of Hiberno-Saxon Art'.³

His major papers, nearly a dozen in number, on Saxon decorative and monumental art, on cathedrals, on abbeys and priories, on early hall-houses and on manor-houses of historical interest, each the fruit of long research, further illustrate

¹ See the remarkable article by M. Georges Salles, Head of the Administration of the Museums of France, in the *Museums Journal*, 1947, pp. 63-7.

² Sir Frank Stenton, in *Anglo-Saxon England*,

p. 697.

³ 'The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century', *The British Isles*, 1943, pp. 15, 16, etc.

his range of interest and achievement, as will his account, now approaching completion, of the Royal Effigies in Westminster Abbey, to be printed in the Society's volume commemorating their temporary exhibition at South Kensington in 1945.

Lastly, there is Sir Alfred's life work in the service of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). To assess his share in a joint enterprise of this magnitude would be an impropriety, but we are at liberty to regard it as considerable! He joined the staff in 1912 as 'technical editor'; in 1922, after his war service, he was made head of the executive staff, and on the retirement of Sir George Duckworth in 1933 he became Secretary to the Commission. Thus he was closely associated with, and later primarily responsible under the Commissioners for, the production of a magnificent series of volumes: four of the County of Essex, 1916-23; five of London, 1924-30; three of Herefordshire, one each of Huntingdonshire, Middlesex, and Westmorland, and the superb Oxford City, followed; and the Commission is now, as is well known, at work in Dorset. These publications have had a great influence; I speak as one of many who have from the very beginning acquired each grey volume as it came out, and found them all invaluable. That influence, arising from the scholarship manifested in the work generally, was much increased by the excellent technique of presentation adopted; both the sister commissions, Scottish and Welsh, starting on different lines, have now conformed. The ample illustration and close and accurate documentation of the monuments has revived public interest in, and appreciation of, the value of our heritage of good building, medieval and later, and has no doubt helped to make politically possible the additional safeguards against damage or destruction of such building embodied in recent legislation.

Such are the services to archaeology, technical, creative, and administrative, for which I now invest Sir Alfred Clapham with the Society's Gold Medal.

THE INCISED ORNAMENT ON THE CELTIC MIRROR FROM COLCHESTER, ESSEX

By SIR CYRIL FOX, President, and M. R. HULL, F.S.A.

THE Colchester Celtic mirror has been known to students of the period since a photograph of it was published by Henry Laver in the *Proceedings* of our Society (xx, 1905, p. 213) as one object in an important grave-group. Laver noted that the back of that portion of the mirror-plate which is preserved is 'ornamented with a spiral pattern', but this pattern is not to be seen in the reproduction. Another reference in the literature is that by R. A. Smith, *Archaeologia*, lxi, 338, who mentions 'traces of engraved scrollwork' and an 'imbricated filling, not of the usual basket-pattern'. Mr. E. T. Leeds produced another group photograph of the find; *Celtic Ornament*, fig. 10 and p. 30.

The writers of this article collaborated for the purpose of studying the ornament, and of reconstructing the complete design, if that should prove possible. The incised work was found to be very difficult to follow owing to a pustule-like corrosion all over the mirror fragment. Thus, as one of us remarked after the first attempt, 'it is only here and there, either in a strong cross-light, or with the lens, that one can see and copy it'.

Thereafter both of us worked on the mirror fragment, and gradually the pattern emerged; it is reproduced in fig. 1. This drawing is necessarily an imitative representation of the original; it records not only actual marks on the bronze, but also direct inductions, such as the continuation of a partly preserved curve or circle, a line drawn on one side to match a line preserved on the other, and the development of the 'matting' or hatching from intermittent appearances. We have thought it well to indicate corrosion, but the dense obscurity of the original due to this cause cannot be reproduced.

Portions of the rim of the mirror survive. This is as usual a separate strip of metal bent in a C-shape round the edge of the plate. The handle of the mirror is an attractive variant of a familiar design which can be better appreciated in the drawing than in the photographs previously published.¹

THE ORNAMENT ON THE MIRROR-PLATE

The outstanding features of the ornament on the mirror-plate are massive opposed scrolls descending in graceful curves; their ends, partly preserved, face inward (above) and outward (below). In the central interspace is a familiar Celtic motif, a concave-sided triangle within a circle; it is set in a semicircular frame with expanded ends. This figure is, as will be readily recognized, a Celtic version of the

¹ The handle is studied in another paper by Cyril Fox, *Arch. Camb.* 1948, forthcoming. There is, it should be noted, a remarkable contrast in condition between the handle, on the one hand, and

the mirror-plate and its rim binding, on the other. The former is clean and perfect, its detail as sharp as when it was made. Plate and handle are presumably of different alloys.

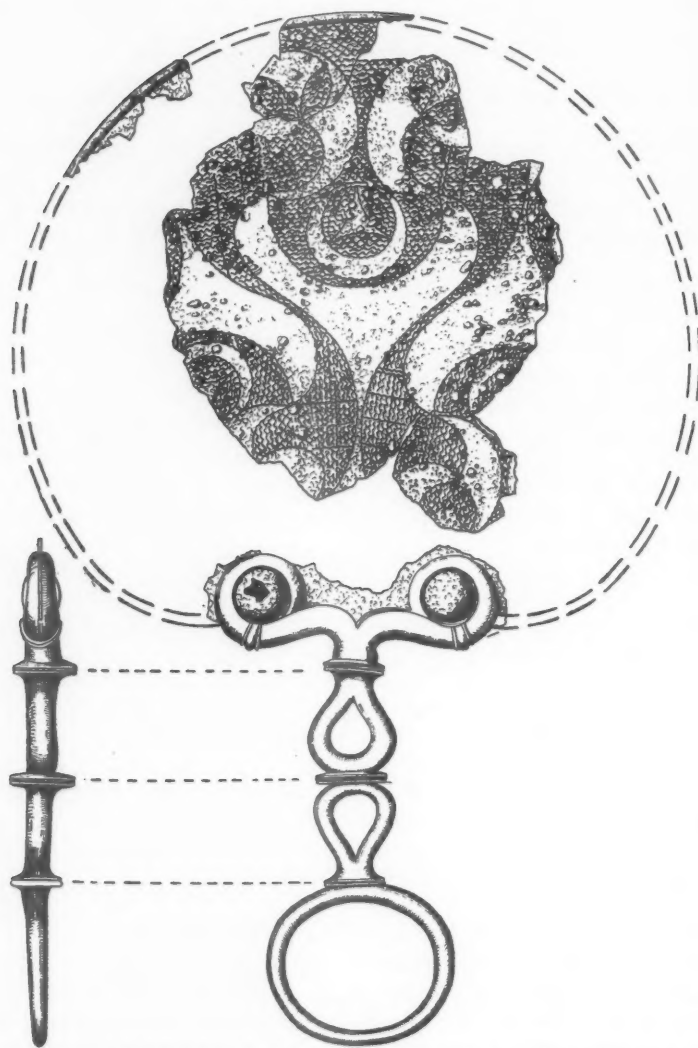


FIG. 1. The Colchester Mirror: showing its probable shape, and the incised ornament on the surviving portion of the plate.

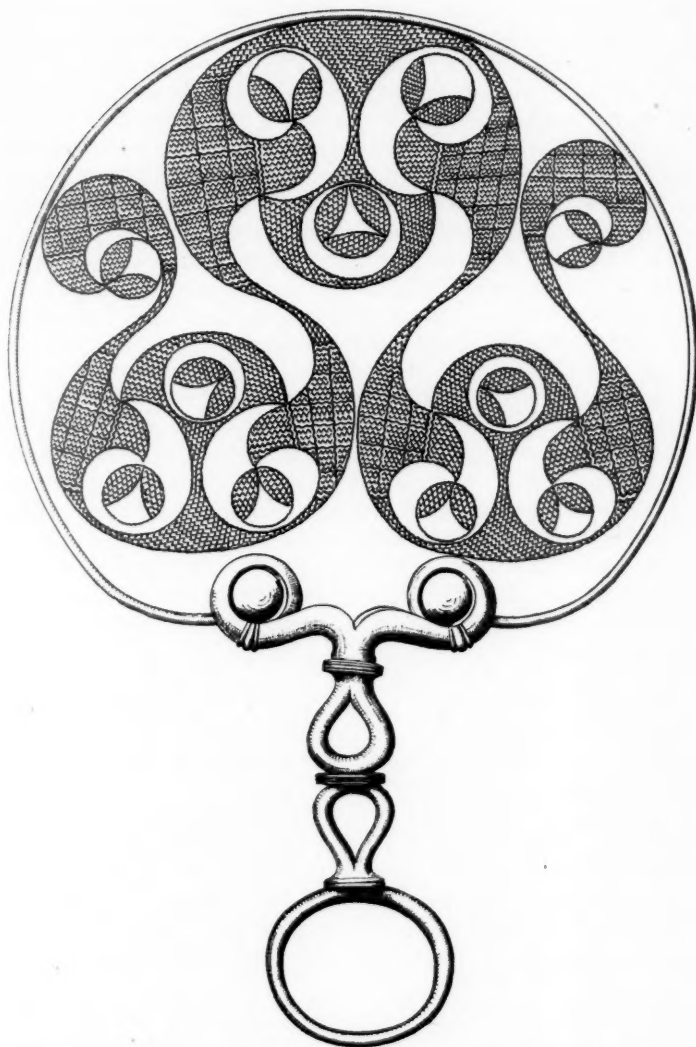


FIG. 2. The Colchester Mirror: the incised design on the mirror-plate, restored.

Greek palmette placed upside down: 'the leaves have gone and a closed-up configuration remains';¹ the device is set on a stem, again a common feature. The form here represented originated in the second phase of continental Celtic art, the Waldalgesheim style of Jacobsthal,² fourth century B.C.; it is present on the gold torc from the type-find and thereafter was long in use in Britain. In fig. 4 two continental examples are sketched, together with one on a Polden Hill, Somerset, harness-mount, and another on the Desborough mirror-handle.

The circle referred to above is repeated, with a simplified internal structure, at each end of each scroll; three out of the four are wholly or in part preserved. They are notable features of the pattern; the 'matted' or hatched almond shapes within them diverge from the basal point of each of the fans which complicate the scroll structure, and look like leaves or lobes springing therefrom—a striking device.

The lower ends of the two scrolls on the fragment are ill preserved, but there is sufficient surviving detail—shapes both positive and negative—to indicate that they formed part of the build-up of lateral structures similar to the one we have described, but inverted.

The reference to 'shapes both positive and negative' is a reminder that the surviving traces of 'matting' have been carefully recorded on the drawing, as they show what was intended by the Celtic artist to be pattern, and what 'field' or background. Enough of the 'matting' was seen amid the incrustations to leave no doubt on this point; the central portions of the scrolls, expanding above and below into the 'fans' we have described, are outstanding positive features. But the artist used negative forms to complete the scrolls, a trick which will be discussed later. Lastly, the traces of 'matting' (with in one place a segment of a circle as its boundary line) at the lateral edges of the mirror fragment are important, as giving a clue to lost elements of the design (p. 127 below).

Close study was given to the technique of the incised work. It consists of lines of zigzag depressions made by a blunt chaser; this is complicated in the fan-like area by the reticulation noticed by Reginald Smith, whereby the 'matting' is divided into rectangles by lines straight or wavy, visibly delimited by double lines in three places, and so probably at every internal boundary.

In fig. 3 the character of the matting and its marginal lines, as well as the reticulation, is shown magnified 5 diameters. The first sketch (*a*) is from the curved stem on the extreme left of our drawing (fig. 1), where each zigzag line of the matting is quite short (across the stem) and the individual strokes are curved. The second (*b*) is from the palmette lower down on the same side, where the zigzag lines are longer and the strokes short and straight. We think the latter is what was generally intended.

The impression made by the chaser is, under the lens, a shallow rounded furrow, but the *marginal* line of the pattern (fig. 3*a*, lower edge) is set out by a very sharply and finely cut line, which was strengthened later by adding a close series of short strokes of the same broad nature as the zigzagging. These strokes sometimes leave the setting-out line untouched. From this it would appear that elsewhere,

¹ Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, p. 89.

² *Ibid.*, nos. 43, pl. 37, 450 a and b, pl. 277; and pp. 89 and 92.

where the outer line of the pattern looks finely zigzagged even under the lens, this effect is produced by a series of short oblique strokes exactly across the fine setting-out line, which is thus rendered invisible.¹

The lines reticulating the matting and the double boundary lines thereof are less angular (fig. 3c) than the matting itself, and more deeply impressed; they often seem to have been formed of short strokes overlapping—as (d) on the figure—exactly as are the outlines of the pattern (a). The artist, working freehand and possibly at speed, varied his handiwork.

We must again emphasize the limitations of this analytical work. The corrosion makes a really accurate report on the manner of the use of the burin almost impossible. Indeed, corrosion has clearly been encouraged by the incisions, for it is concentrated on the decorated portions of the fragment.

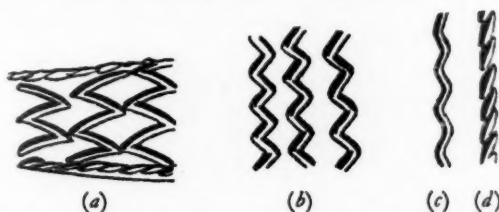


FIG. 3. 'Matting' of various types on the Mirror; magnified 5 diameters. (a) Matting and the marginal lines of the pattern; (b) another type of matting; (c) (d) boundary lines of the 'reticulation'.

So much for figs. 1 and 3; in fig. 2, drawn and reproduced on the same scale as fig. 1, the elements of the design known to us are completed on the assumption that a fold-over symmetry, within the limits imposed by an approximately circular frame and by his freehand draughtsmanship, was the Celtic artist's intention. This assumption seems to us fully justified. The only major uncertainty is the exact form of the outermost scrolls; these have been improvised in accordance with the spirit of the design, and include circles as indicated by the well-defined portion of one such on the right-hand margin of the mirror-fragment (fig. 1). Whatever the reader may think of this pastiche, it will we hope be conceded that the design as a whole is sufficiently certain, and sufficiently complete, for its character to be understood and studied.

The palmettes are now seen to be related to the scrolls in the same way, broadly speaking, as on the Waldalgesheim torc, the Austrian bronze, and the Polden Hill enamel illustrated in fig. 4.² Our scrolls, then, might be described as 'intermittent wave tendrils', celticized, with palmettes set where the spirals meet.³ The tightness of structure imposed by the limitations of the circular frame of the mirror, how-

¹ The primary technique can be studied on the Llyn Cerrig Bach shield-boss where the setting-out lines are perfectly preserved. See *Arch. Camb.* 1945, p. 203, fig. 2 and pl. III B. Also *A Find of the Early Iron Age at Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey*, 1946, pp. 7-8, fig. 3 and pl. v (a).

² Other examples in this country are seen on the Cerrig-y-Drudion bowl, the Clevedon torc, the Battersea shield, and the Bapchild, Kent, and eight Westhall, Suffolk, terrets.

³ Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, p. 92.

ever, gives the opposed scrolls the character rather of lyres, and we would prefer to describe the ornament as a triple lyre-palmette, the principal (central) lyre being of course inverted.

'Lyres have their roots in spiral ornament,' says Dr. Jacobsthal, 'but they early entered into symbiosis with palmettes and flowers.'¹ Designs from Umbria and Etruria (fig. 5) from Jacobsthal's *Grammar of Celtic Ornament* illustrate the evolution of the comparatively 'barren' from the 'flowery' lyre. Our tight design, regarded as a lyre-form, finds a parallel in other British pieces; the closest to it is the

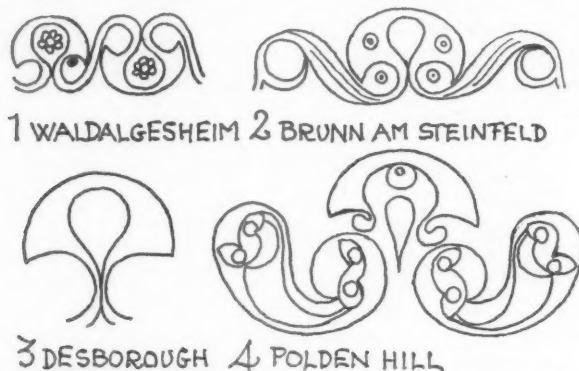


FIG. 4. Sketches illustrating palmettes and tendrils. (1) See *Early Iron Age Guide*, B.M., fig. 12, upper frieze; (2) see Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, pl. 177, no. 377; (3) see *Arch.* lxi, pl. XLIII; (4) see *Early Iron Age Guide*, B.M., pl. VIII, 3.

fragment of a frieze from Great Tower Street, London, with tenuous scrolls and much simplified closed palmettes in relief. A 'pattern-book convention', as Professor Hawkes remarks²—but a subtle one, with the upright and the inverted 'lyres' interlocked, not united. Purer lyre types, loops with head scrolls, are also illustrated in fig. 5, from a harness-fitting found in Northamptonshire, and from an unprovenanced British mirror-handle. These three pieces are all to be dated within the first half of the first century A.D.

We have not finished with our mirror-design, for the shape of the mirror itself has to be considered. The lyre structure demands a 'kidney' shape rather than a circle, as indeed does the grip of the mirror-handle. Thus framed, handle, mirror-outline, and incised ornament as set out in fig. 2 are in aesthetic accord—note the relation between the circles on the mirror and the bosses within the terminal scrolls of the handle. The whole piece presents a controlled and studied rhythm, and is an important addition to the corpus of Celtic art in Britain.

C. F. and M. R. H.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

² 'A Panel of Celtic Ornament . . .', *Antiq. Journ.* 1940, p. 346. The Elmswell panel with which this London piece is compared is in many respects reminiscent of the Colchester design. These

two pieces represent the *later phases* of a development, in relief work, parallel to that which we are studying, and deserve further consideration from this point of view.

ANALYSIS OF THE COLCHESTER MIRROR-ORNAMENT

In the study of Celtic art in Britain the trend of our time is to decry the fold-over symmetry of works produced under the influence of Roman art in post-Caesarian times, as reducing the interest and aesthetic significance of Celtic essays in abstract design.

Analysis of the Colchester mirror-ornament increases doubt as to whether this view as to the inferiority of absolute symmetry in this linear art is justifiable. The design as a whole is satisfying, and it possesses subtleties which are probably involved in and certainly provide reasons for this impression. Two of these deserve special consideration.

(i) The major axes of the circles—determined by the positions on the periphery of their divergent internal lobes—are ingeniously disposed: produced, they lead either to the centres of their own 'lyres' or, in the case of those within the lateral palmettes, to the centre of the whole decoration. When this was realized, the axes which we have chosen for the lost circles of the outer scrolls were inevitable. How marvellously these circles thus enliven the design! They are difficult to parallel, but almond-shaped forms diverging from a well-defined axis are seen on the hinged bronze harness-fitting from Polden Hill.¹

(ii) The interest taken by the Celtic craftsman in negative (plain) as well as positive (matted) forms is now well recognized.² The *negative* structure of the undistorted central design—opposed 'commas' surmounting the Y-form which has the lunate and the triangular concave-sided shapes within it—is as satisfying as is the correspondent *positive* structure with its flowing curves, broadening where the pattern needs emphasis, narrowing to avoid the impression of dull weight.

¹ *Arch.* xiv, pl. xxi, 3, 4.

² For Britain see, for example, T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 1938, p. 8; C. Fox in *Arch. Camb.*

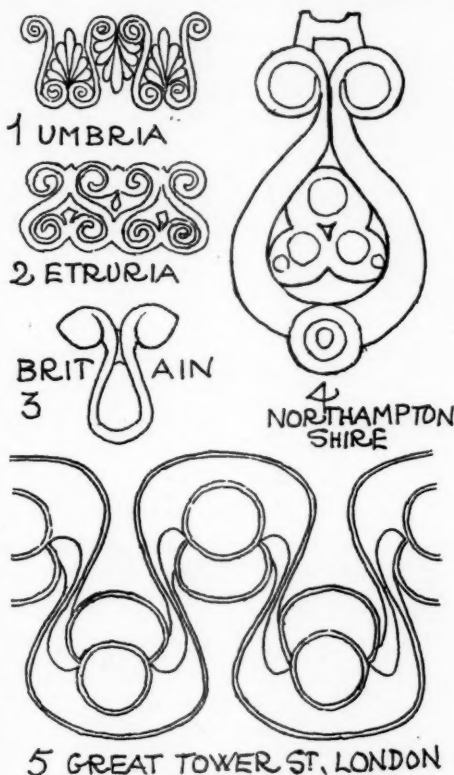


FIG. 5. Sketches illustrating sources and examples of Celtic lyre designs with and without palmettes. (1) (2) see Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, pl. 272, nos. 331, 333; (3) sketched in B.M., cf. *Archaeologia*, lxi, p. 340, fig. 7; (4) *Proc. Soc. Ant.* xvii, 1898, p. 166; (5) sketched in B.M., cf. *Antiq. Journ.* 1940, pl. lxxx.

1945, pp. 212-13; for the Continent, Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, 1944, pp. 77, 79, 91-2, 94-5.

But this is not all: a higher integration emerges. The design one is led, indeed, compelled, to see is neither that of the positive nor of the negative forms, but a combination of both! The curled ends of the central, inverted lyre-scrolls are negative elements; the matted, weighted, positive pattern has no scroll forms at all, and yet without hesitation or thought of aesthetic impropriety we referred to 'scrolls' in our primary interpretation of the ornament (p. 123).

The acceptance of the duality of our Colchester design, however, should not blind us to the problems it presents. How does there intrude into a fundamentally simple opposed-scroll structure this group of interlocked motifs—'positive' fan with circle at base and 'negative' comma-like coil—which obscures that structure?

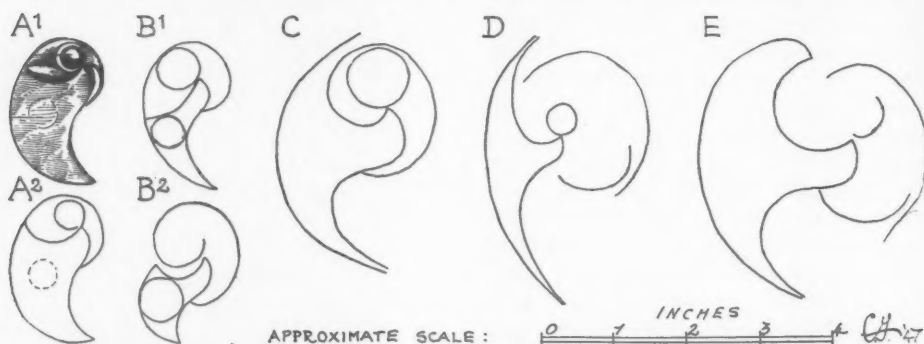


FIG. 6. The fan, comma, and circle motif of the Colchester Mirror (c); its evolution from a three-dimensional pattern, Llyn Cerrig Bach (A¹ relief, A² outline) through the Mayer mirror (B¹ and B²); and devolution in later mirrors, Birdlip (D) and Desborough (E).

Indeed, when it is noted that these motifs are repeated certainly four and probably six times over, and in fact *are* themselves the scroll structure, the inclination is to change the emphasis and to ask how the wave-tendrill pattern with palmettes or the lyre-palmette pattern (whichever you will) came to be involved with another, more barbaric in feeling.

The derivation of the interlocked motifs referred to offers, it is held, no difficulty. The 'Mayer' mirror, an unprovenanced but certainly British piece in the Liverpool Museum (pl. xvi, a) with fine and complex abstract patterns in a frame of linked roundels wrought with effortless mastery of draughtsmanship, shows no less than three examples of such motifs, similar both in the relationship of their elements and in the contrast between positive and negative forms.

This is demonstrated in fig. 6, where two examples of the Mayer motifs are outlined (see B¹ and B²) beside a Colchester example (C). The evidence for the derivation of the Mayer ornament in general, and these features in particular, from the plastic art of the Llyn Cerrig, Anglesey, crescentic plaque, and for Mayer as the earliest of all the surviving mirrors has been set out in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*;¹ our fig. 6 shows a portion of the plaque design in relief (A¹), and in outline (A²),

¹ 1945; pp. 206, 210, and pp. 216-18.



a



b



c



d

Mirrors: (a) 'Mayer', after Romilly Allen, *Celtic Art*, plate, p. 115; (b) Birdlip, Glos., after R. A. Smith, *Archaeologia*, lxi, pl. XLII; (c) Desborough, Northants., after R. A. Smith, *loc. cit.*, pl. XLIII; (d) 'Gibbs', after R. A. Smith, *loc. cit.*, fig. 8, p. 340.

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sufficient as an indication of the nature of that evidence. It is of interest to notice that the stud which decorated the 'field' of the plaque (A^1), reproduced as a circle on the 'Mayer' fans, drops out at the Colchester stage of the stylistic sequence.

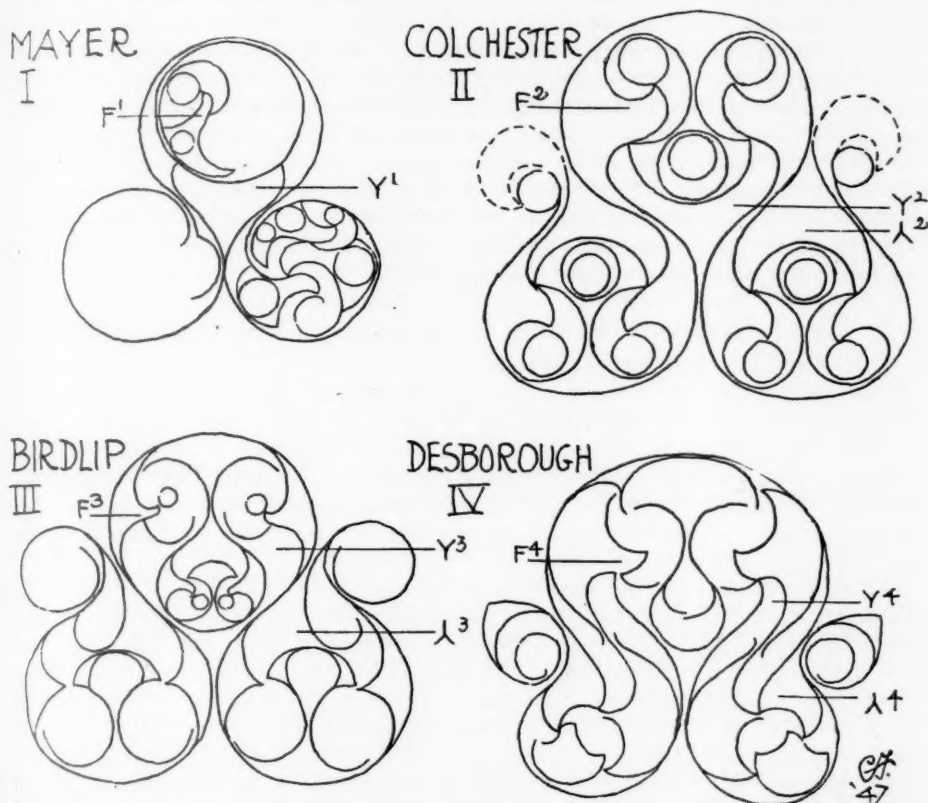


FIG. 7. The sequential relationship of four mirror-patterns: Mayer, Colchester, Birdlip, and Desborough.

The upper example in fig. 6 of the Mayer motifs (B^1) is sketched in another figure, 7, in its correct position in the pattern of a roundel (see F^1). This is, it will be noted, the *exact* position of one of the six examples of the feature in the Colchester mirror (fig. 7, F^2).

Such detail is by no means the most important element of design borrowed by Colchester from the (lost) group which Mayer represents. The triple structure of Colchester linked by S-curves is fundamentally 'Mayer', as fig. 7 demonstrates; so is the upper Y-form—compare Y^1 and Y^2 on this figure. What then is left of the lyre-palmette pattern; what does it bring in to the traditional 'Mayer' formula, and why was it sought?

'Mayer' is a balanced design, but its triple roundels contain completely asymmetric patterns—illustrated in fig. 7, right-hand lower roundel. As may fairly be held, asymmetry was outmoded in the chief centres of the bronze-worker's craft in southern Britain shortly after it was made.¹ The mirror-makers had to move with the times; and a unifying motif was needed which could provide for the circular field of the mirror-plate such symmetry without sacrificing structural forms traditional in the craft. The grouped lyre-palmette pattern, doubtless well known to all master craftsmen, was the very thing; its major curves were those already in use—as Mayer shows; it provided a context in which the barbaric motifs we are examining, hitherto treated *eccentrically*, could be placed in *formal opposition*. The artist of the Colchester mirror did, we have seen, more than this; fertile in fancy, he used the ancient formula to invigorate the very frame of the lyre pattern. In one respect, however, this lyre pattern itself improved on the triple-circle outline of Mayer, by filling the vacant lateral spaces with scrolls.²

THE PLACE OF COLCHESTER IN THE HISTORY OF MIRROR-ORNAMENT

In the three-roundel sequence of mirror-ornament, then, we place Colchester next to 'Mayer'; and by great good fortune we can study the use subsequent artists made, not necessarily of our mirror, but of the group of mirrors on which we may suppose the lyre-pattern was employed, of which Colchester is the sole surviving example. The principal designs available are those of the Birdlip and Desborough mirrors. As an aid to the analysis of these designs, their essential elements are outlined in fig. 7. Photographs of the mirrors are provided in pl. xvi to enable the reader to check any particular detail.

First, the Birdlip mirror; this has a definite generic resemblance to Colchester. The same triple structure is apparent, and the scroll-curves are similar, though they are undoubtedly disintegrating. From a truer angle of view, one would say that new integrations are developing. This is certainly the case in respect of the inverted Y-forms of Colchester; the Birdlip artist inserted lovely coils which cut clean across them. (The position of these coils is indicated by a curved line in my fig. 7, and they can be seen in pl. xvi, c.) On the other hand, disliking the *inverted* upper palmette of Colchester, the Birdlip artist replaced it, not by something new, but by a small-scale replica of one of the lower nodes of this mirror!³

Could one wish for a discovery, made after the Colchester reconstruction was completed, more significant of the stylistic dependence of Birdlip on Colchester?

If we now turn to Desborough, we shall see a further stage in the devolution of the lyre-palmette pattern; work of a master of greater sensibility, it may be thought, in another atelier. Desborough might seem to be stylistically nearer to Colchester than is Birdlip because the upper 'fans' are larger; but these have in fact been com-

¹ The range of date suggested in 1945 was 50 to 25 B.C.; this now appears to be a little too early. Fox, *Arch. Camb.* 1945, pp. 215-16.

² Fig. 7A in *Arch. Camb.* 1945, p. 211, shows a form related to our scrolls, but their origin is not as described on p. 210. The restatement of this theory

in *A Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey*, p. 55 and fig. 31, is also withdrawn.

³ The elements of design discussed in this section may be positive or negative forms. The distinction is regarded as unimportant for the present purpose (see p. 129 above).

pletely assimilated, and their attendant circles so carefully preserved in Birdlip¹ have in Desborough vanished (see fig. 6, D, E, and fig. 7). The Celtic feeling for rhythm again is more strongly marked: there is a recovery of the Celtic spirit. The most important structural change is in the lower nodes; the inverted Y-form of Colchester is reduced in size and pushed into the outer margin,² the lower scrolls have vanished, and a design bearing no resemblance in outline to these symmetrical forms takes their place. We see, in fact, a minor resurgence of the asymmetric tradition; minor, because the fold-over symmetry of the whole is unimpaired.

One other aspect of the mirror series Colchester, Birdlip, Desborough is important. The duality of the Colchester scroll design has been emphasized: the positive element is so drawn as to need the carefully shaped and partially enclosed background or 'field' for its complete comprehension. A new twist was given to this attractive trick in Birdlip, where complex negative forms are inextricably involved in the coils and roundels. The group of artists represented by Desborough saw that this gay, rotund treatment presented a new artistic possibility, and they invented a ribbony design the structure of which was lightened by incorporating such negative patterns throughout. The photographs on pl. xvi, with fig. 2, will, it is hoped, enable the reader to appreciate the argument.³

The beauty of the Desborough achievement—a synthesis of glittering, aery, lace-like curves—is recognized by all students of Celtic art, but it has never been analysed. This brief history of its chief feature supports the conclusion already arrived at as to the relative positions in the stylistic sequence of the three mirrors we are comparing.

A word is needed on the conclusions to be drawn from the technique of the matting on the Colchester mirror. Of the mirrors discussed Birdlip and Desborough show the regular pattern which justifies the term 'basketry filling', while Mayer illustrates the phase in which this device was being evolved by the bronze-workers (see pl. xvi a). Colchester shows little resemblance to either; its reticulated pattern is not elsewhere represented in the incised designs of the period in Britain—in so far as these have been published. We must then provisionally assign the Colchester mirror to a workshop hitherto unknown.

To sum up, it is held that the Colchester mirror ornament was designed as a variation on an original concept of three linked circles; its principal motif, the lyre-palmette pattern, is an intrusion which explains much that, on this three-circle theory, had hitherto been obscure in the magnificent designs of Birdlip and Desborough. Thus it illuminates and strengthens a synthesis sketched out prior to its discovery.⁴ All these designs are efforts, in a creative age (of whose merit, and, having regard to time and place, importance, the art—not the archaeological—world is perhaps not yet fully appreciative), to modify the three-circle motif in the direction of an ever closer rhythmic integration involving fold-over symmetry. The recovery of the Colchester mirror design, it should be added, underlines the

¹ In Praetorius' drawing, reproduced in pl. xvi b, the left-hand circle is accidentally omitted.

² Compare, on fig. 7, the inverted v^2 , v^3 , and v^4 .

³ A fourth mirror, the unprovenanced 'Gibbs', is

included on pl. xvi (d) to illustrate the same development in a different but related tradition.

⁴ Cyril Fox, *Arch. Camb.* 1945, fig. 11 and pp. 216-18.

dominance of the three-circle motif in the British mirror-series; of the eleven mirrors whose ornament is sufficiently preserved to be classifiable, seven employ it.

The stylistic sequence set out in this paper gains interest as presenting within probably less than a century of time an epitome in miniature of a familiar evolution of art forms. If 'Mayer' may be regarded as archaic, Colchester with its severe and regular structure is classic; Birdlip may be held to correspond to the 'decorated' phase of medieval, the 'baroque' phase of renaissance art; Desborough is clearly to be defined as 'flamboyant', less justly perhaps as 'rococo'.¹ It is remarkable that accidents of survival, within the first creative art-period known to us in Britain, enable such a closely integrated and complete sequence, with each element strictly comparable, to be set out. This is, of course, due to the practice of burying these delicate bronzes with their owners.

THE DATE OF THE COLCHESTER MIRROR

Our paper gives grounds for placing the Colchester mirror after Mayer and before Birdlip, stylistically. It does not follow, of course, that the chronological sequence conforms, and a reconsideration of the date of Birdlip, which is certainly overdue,² would not necessarily provide a *terminus ante quem* for Colchester. The detailed study of the pre-Roman archaeology of Camulodunum, now published,³ provides a basis for direct attack on the problem of the date of our mirror, since no less than five pottery vessels as well as two bronzes were associated with it.

In the Appendix my colleague develops that attack. He concludes that the mirror burial is probably to be dated to the reign of Cunobeline, about A.D. 10-25. The pottery would be almost certainly contemporary with the burial, but the mirror is likely to have been a treasured possession of the lady thus richly furnished for the after-life. The very beginning of the first century A.D. is, then, on the evidence, a likely date for its manufacture, and it suits our stylistic sequence well enough.

As to the place of manufacture of the mirror, all that one can say at present is that, having regard to the provenance of its close relations, it is more likely to have been brought into, than made in, the coastal fringe of Essex. It is hoped to deal with this problem in the paper on the Colchester mirror-handle. C. F.

¹ These comparisons were invoked by a remark of Mr. T. D. Kendrick's to the effect that the intricate patterning on the ribbons of Desborough represented that final effort of enrichment characteristic of all active art movements. Surcharging is indeed met with in earlier phases of our art: cf. the Lisnacroghera and Bugthorpe scabbards (*Arch.*

Camb. 1945, pl. v, opp. p. 209).

² There is a case, as Mr. Charles Green has pointed out to me, for earlier dating of the Birdlip brooch than is at present admitted.

³ *Camulodunum*, by C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, Research Report, Society of Antiquaries, 1947.

APPENDIX

The burial which contained this mirror was found in 1904. The circumstances of the discovery and details of the manner of interment are not fully recorded.

The first published account was in the *Annual Report* of the Colchester Museum, 1904, p. 17, where the contents are merely catalogued. They are entered in the Accessions Book under the numbers 639-47.04, with a note that they were found together in one group 'in a field on the north side of Lexden Road, where Lexden Grange now stands'. It is also stated that another pedestalled urn (638.04) was found in the same field.

The then Curator, Mr. A. G. Wright, noted that the mirror bore an inscribed pattern and that it bore traces of gilding. The latter I cannot see now.

The next account was published in our *Proceedings* of 9th February 1905, by Alderman Henry Laver, F.S.A. So far as we know that distinguished Colchester archaeologist alone had knowledge of the circumstances of the find, but all he tells us is: 'This discovery was made a short distance from the town within the bounds of the Borough, during some excavations for drainage, and as every effort was made in trying to save the whole of the vases and other relics . . . possibly the whole was preserved.' The site is marked on the Ordnance maps, probably on Laver's information, and therefore probably quite correctly. It falls on a sunk garden in front of Lexden Grange.

Apart from the second urn already mentioned, which is like the first in the group, this burial is isolated between the Belgic cemetery at Lexden and the site of Camulodunum on Sheepen Farm. It therefore is not definitely connected with either. Other isolated burials of purely Belgic ware have been recorded at scattered points within the multiple ramparts of the huge area of Camulodunum, and one actually between the lines of ramparts (*Colchester Mus. Rep.* 1937, 14, pl. iv). They do not necessarily all belong to the period of Cunobeline, but as we are entirely dependent on the pottery for dating, this must remain doubtful until we know more of the pre-Cunobelinian pottery of Camulodunum. Such information, we have conjectured (*Cam.* 10), may be found in the Cheshunt Field area.¹

In examining the pottery of this grave we should bear in mind, as pointed out in *Cam.* 207 (with note), that there is some reason to suspect a conservatism in grave-furniture. The full contents of the Lexden cemetery have never been collected in one publication. Most of the vessels came from chance excavations and are not in groups; indeed no records of how they were found have survived. They are all purely Belgic, of the thick, fine quality,² except an early Roman flagon.³ There are also unpublished fragments from these earlier finds.

The later finds are to the north of the former, and are definitely of the Cunobeline period, containing Gallo-Belgic ware, Arretine, early South Gaulish ware, and numbers of brooches, perhaps all imported—but never *kitchen* ware.⁴

The contents of the grave (excluding the mirror) were as follows:

Fig. 8.

1. A small bronze cup, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter and $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. high, with rounded base and no trace of footring. Riveted to it is a cast bronze handle of unmistakably Celtic pattern bearing a hemispherical boss of red enamel (?) secured by a bronze pin through the centre. The metal of the cup is very thin, with a thicker, finely outlined and inturned rim. The manufacture is of the

¹ The estate maps of 1806 and later call this field Chesnut Field, which is probably more correct.

² *Colchester Mus. Rep.* 1909, 11 f., pl. vi; 1913, 12 f., pl. v; vi, 1916, 10, pl. 1 (left); 1923, 9 f., pl. iv; Swarling, pl. iii, 2; xi, 1-3.

³ 4314.22, illustr. Swarling, pl. xi, 2.

⁴ *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* xviii, 269; *Colchester Mus. Rep.* 1920, 7, pl. 11 (top); 1932, 32 (where read 'pl. viii, 1, 2'); *Antiq. Journ.* xxii, 59 ff.

finest, and the body must have been cast to a more simple outline and then turned on the lathe. There is no known parallel to this cup.

2. Part of a bronze pin, with a flat, perforated head, unfortunately very imperfect. Here again there is no parallel.

Fig. 9.

3. The pedestalled urn has the quoit-shaped foot which occurs no less than nine times in the Lexden cemetery and thrice in the scattered graves. The dice-box foot only occurs thrice at Lexden and may be regarded as the earlier of the two, but we do not know the true limits of the two forms. The dice-box foot did not occur on the Sheepen site (*Cam.* 257, sub form 202/3), but was present with the quoit-shape at Swarling, as at Lexden

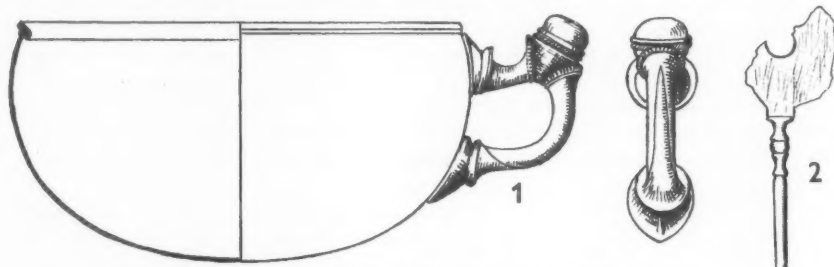


FIG. 8. The bronze cup, and pin, associated with the mirror.

4. The narrow-mouthed, cordoned vessel occurred at Camulodunum (form 232c) but only once.

5. The small cordoned bowl is not closely paralleled, but compare the similar series, *Swarling*, pl. ix, 22-5, not otherwise represented at Camulodunum unless by *Cam.* form 209, and cf. *Colchester Mus. Rep.* 1909, pl. vi, no. 4.

6. The fine cordoned bowl with elaborate lid is the most handsome example of a purely Essex type. It was not numerous on the Sheepen site (*Cam.* form 252, 15 examples, fairly evenly distributed through the several levels). For others see *Colchester Mus. Rep.* 1909, pl. vi, 7 (Lexden); 1905, frontispiece, no. 1; *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* ix, 196 (Braintree); and two unpublished, from Lexden, in Colchester Museum. Being neither Kentish nor Catuvellaunian, it seems we may regard this as an Essex type of the period of Cunobeline.

7 and 8. Two tall flagons of red ware, mica-coated. They are of exceptional form, clearly copied from a metal prototype as yet unknown to us. At present no more can be said about them, except that the use of flagons only began to spread in the late La Tène period under Roman influence, and a date under Cunobeline is most probable for these.

Thus the group is probably to be dated to the reign of Cunobeline, and, in the absence of imported Gallo-Belgic and Sigillata wares, more probably early in the reign than late. A date about A.D. 10-25 is probably not far out.

M. R. H.

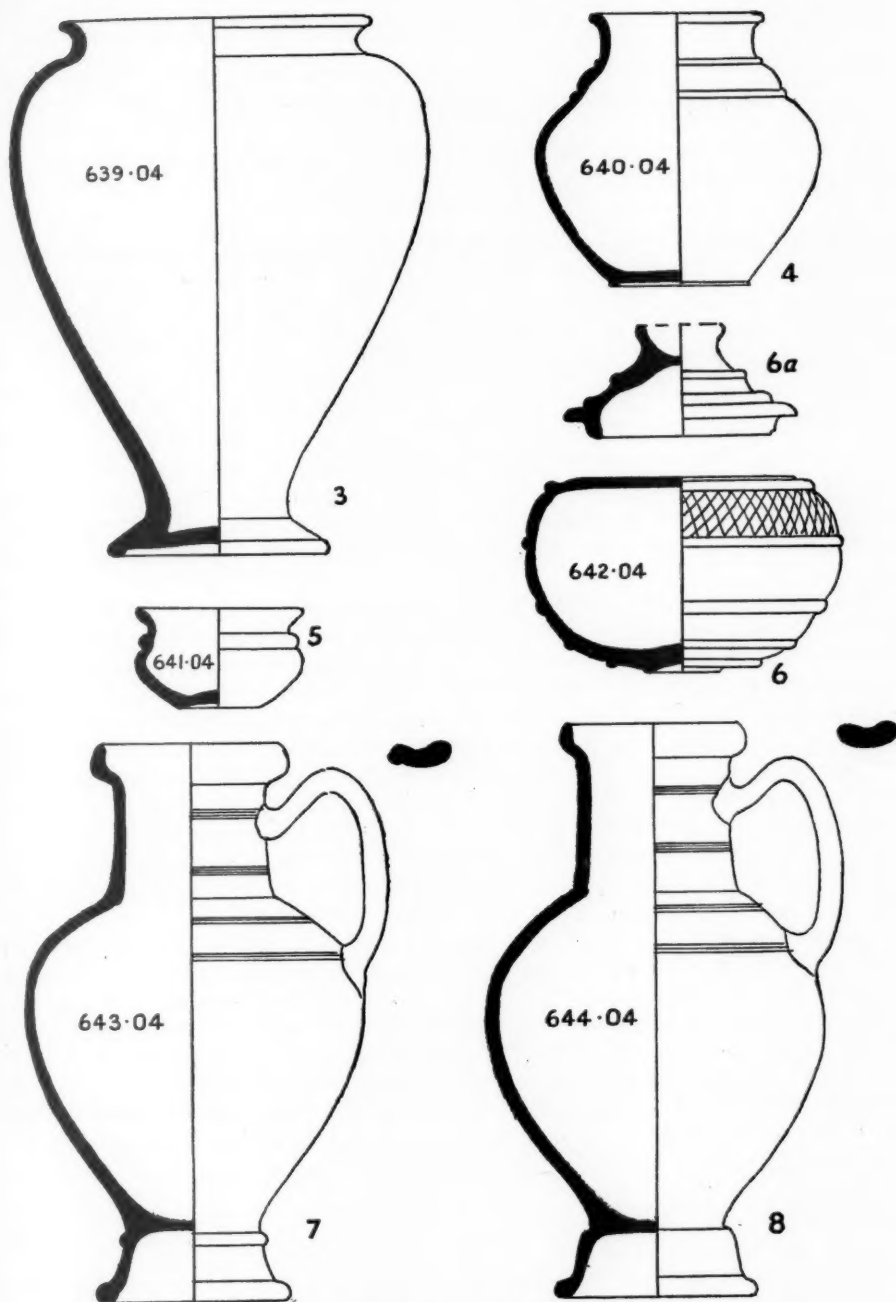


FIG. 9. The pottery associated with the mirror.

BUILDING BY KING HENRY III AND EDWARD, SON OF ODO

By J. G. NOPPEN, F.S.A.

THIS paper is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the procedure whereby the king's works were ordered. There is reference to surviving accounts, to the wardens and viewers, followed by a discussion of the masons. The second part is concerned with Edward the son of Odo, and the Exchequer of Works set up by the king to handle funds for the rebuilding of the abbey church.

PART I

PROCEDURE: THE WARDENS, VIEWERS, AND MASONS

In the time of King Henry III work for the king was put in hand by writ, and the various Chancery, Exchequer, and Memoranda rolls contain much information. There are also a few accounts. Evidence from these sources forms the basis of what follows.

The writ was addressed to the sheriff, or other, best situated to deal with the affair; it usually provided that the sheriff should pay the bills, and that the cost should be credited to him by view.¹ The viewers might be named, or the sheriff required to appoint good and lawful men. They would testify to the correctness of the account, at the Exchequer, and, when the barons were satisfied, a new account would be made out and the sum allowed to the sheriff in the settlement of his farm.

The sheriff produced detailed accounts at the board; but only shortened versions were dictated by the treasurer to be entered on the Pipe and Chancellor's rolls. The wardens of the works at Westminster made similar accounts and, presently, I shall mention surviving examples. Writs were often issued in respect of supplies, the delivery of funds, the payment of wages, or the facilities to be given to a workman sent specially for the job.

Among the accounts, I will first notice a fragment which includes payments made to workmen. It is badly damaged and has no beginning; but, from the names recorded in it, may be dated c. 1254-5. It refers to work at Westminster.²

Wages are shown as payments to individuals, or as so much to the stone-layers or cutters and so on. Sums are described as being paid from sacks: *de primo sacco*; *de secundo sacco*, and we thus get an idea of the procedure. I imagine the wardens of works, attended by a clerk and one or more tellers, presiding over sacks of silver pennies.³ The clerk would call out the sum due and the tellers would count it out, as at the Exchequer. The sums paid from the second, third, fourth, and fifth sacks,

¹ This type of writ is called *contrabreve*, and the counter-writ was brought into the Exchequer by the constable's clerk for comparison with that held by the sheriff. When an order was issued to pay or spend a definite sum, a close letter which is an off-

shoot of the *Contrabreve* might go to the sheriff, and a writ of *Allocate* to the barons of the Exchequer.

² E 101/467/4 at the P.R.O.

³ C.L.R. 26 Henry III, p. 105. We read of payment for canvas *ad denarios insaccandos*.

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if my addition is correct, were £99. 19s. 4d., £99. 12s., £100. 12s. 9d., and £99. 17s. It is well established that money was usually packed in sacks of £100 each.

The last item on this account reads *Roberto de Beverlaco pro quatuor clavibus* 32s. These bosses at the considerable price of 8s. each must have been important carved works. It is, perhaps, reasonable to suggest that they are among the many fine bosses which still adorn the vaults of the thirteenth-century part of the abbey church. We may also believe that the carver is likely to have been none other than he who some years later became the king's chief mason. A few relative extracts from this account are given in Appendix I.

In April 1259 master John of Gloucester received orders for several jobs, including the reconstruction of the fireplace in the king's kitchen; the repair of the waterpiping which led underground to the king's lavatory; the making of a drain, and other works, all at Westminster. A detailed account concerning them has survived, and it is very interesting.¹ It has no heading. The text begins *custus positus in camino camerae Domini regis apud Westmonasterium*, etc., going on to repeat the various jobs to be done, which, as it states, are contained in the writ.²

Robert of Beverley is found among the masons working on the fireplace, being apparently the man in charge of a party of four. Every man who is paid wages is named, even the lesser workmen (*minuti operarii*).

Among the carpenters working on the kitchen fireplace were William de Wauz and Nicholas of Eye. Each had 2s. 6d. a week. Also working on the fireplace was Simon the scaffold-builder, who got 1s. 6d. a week. He is named under the heading of *minuti operarii*, most of whom were probably general labourers. Five freestone-porters got 2½d. a day for two days' work. Another man with the pleasant name of Wellbeloved had 1s. 3d. a week which seems usual for this class of labour.

There are two master masons named—William de Wauz and Richard of Eltham. Both were regularly granted robes as king's masons about this time. They may have been the masons in daily charge. The carpenter William de Wauz may have been a relation of the mason; but I have not found him named in the Close or Patent rolls. The mason alone appears there. In 1261 one William de Wauz sought the replevin of his land in Plumstead,³ and I have wondered if he might be identical with one of our two Williams. I found that an account printed by Devon was, in fact, a revised edition of the above; but I can say no more about them, as I have not had time to compare them in detail.

On 4th June 1260 a writ of *Liberate* was issued for the payment of £126. 17s. 8½d. for these works, all of which are catalogued in it just as in the close letter and in the account. The close letter, in fact, concluded with a mandate to the treasurer to provide funds and promised the writ of *Liberate* when the king knew the sum.

The Wardens of Works

The wardens of works were appointed by order of the king, and theirs was not a whole-time job. The constable of a castle might be a warden of the works there, and possibly chose his colleagues.

¹ E 101/467/3.

² C.R. 33 Henry III, p. 380 (30th April 1259).

³ C.R. 45 Henry III, p. 455.

At Winchester, in 1229, the wardens were master Henry of Cerne and Roger Coleman, and the work in hand was the building of the king's hall at the castle. Henry was a forest justice and had a seat at the Jewish Exchequer.¹

Ten years later, at the Tower of London, the four wardens of works were Hugh Giffard, the constable, Peter Bacun, Robert of Basing, and a clerk named Richard of Salisbury who whilst in office were to have the following wages: Hugh Giffard 1s. a day, the other three 8d. a day.²

Hugh Giffard last appears as warden of works at the Tower on 4th August 1239,³ and is succeeded by Richard of Fresingfeld who is in office on 9th August, when with his companions he receives 100 marks for the works by writ of liberate.⁴

Hugh Giffard went to Windsor where he was associated with William Le Brun both as warden of the works and as guardian of the king's children. The Giffards were high in royal favour, and Sybil, wife of Hugh, was one of the queen's ladies. She was in receipt of a pension of £10 a year as a reward for her services at the queen's lying in,⁵ and was still associated with the king's children in 1254 when she held land at Bentley in Hampshire, seemingly as part of her remuneration.⁶ Hugh and William apparently kept young lord Edward's purse, and sums for his use were frequently issued to them.⁷ Hugh died in 1246,⁸ still obviously in the royal service and favour, in which his wife, as we have seen, long continued.

Writs of liberate for the Windsor works were, in several instances, issued in favour of master Simon the king's carpenter, who was enjoined to carry the money to Windsor and hand it to the wardens of the works.⁹ In December 1243 Master Simon is himself a warden,¹⁰ and on 12th January 1244 is named as such together with Hugh Giffard and William le Brun.¹¹

In January 1240 a wall at Devizes Castle which had lately fallen down was to be rebuilt (*de novo reparari*) and a new turret made. Other turrets were to be replanked and covered with lead, and the castle buildings roofed where necessary. Two bridges were to be built outside the gate. The warden of works was Nicholas the clerk, and the constable was to let him have 9 marks and 6s. for his expenses. The money was to come from the farm of the town.¹² Ten years later, at Bristol Castle, two clerks named William and Hamo were wardens of the works and received £213 from the farm of the town for work on the castle gate.¹³

At Winchester Castle, in 1238, Richard de la Prise and Richard the Usher were wardens of the works and, together with Oliver the castle carpenter, each received a robe.¹⁴

At Havering a local man named William of Uphaving was warden of the works and saw to the building of a new chamber for the king.¹⁵ He died in 33 Henry III, and was succeeded by William, his son, under whom the job was

¹ C.L.R. 13 Henry III, p. 130 and C.R. 15 Henry III, p. 473.

² C.L.R. 23 Henry III, p. 369.

³ C.R. 15 Henry III, p. 473.

⁴ C.L.R. 23 Henry III, p. 406.

⁵ C.L.R. 24 Henry III, p. 491.

⁶ C.R. 28 Henry III, pp. 37 and 95.

⁷ C.L.R. 26 Henry III, p. 143 (one instance).

⁸ C.L.R. pp. 68 and 69.

⁹ C.L.R. pp. 176, 183, and 186.

¹⁰ C.L.R. 28 Henry III, p. 143 (one instance).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹² C.L.R. 24 Henry III, pp. 433, 446, and 447.

¹³ C.L.R. 35 Henry III, p. 324.

¹⁴ C.L.R. 23 Henry III, p. 358.

¹⁵ C.L.R. 31 Henry III, pp. 122 and 131.

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finished in 1249.¹ The Memoranda roll records that the work was done by order of Edward of Westminster and by view of lawful men.²

A clerk named Peter of London was warden of works at Freemantle, and, in 1251, the bailiff was ordered to let him take oaks in the forest for the king's works and to ask the owners of neighbouring woods to give or sell suitable oaks at reasonable prices (*ad bonum forum*).³ Henry de Ferleg', the sheriff, was warden with Peter, and both were ordered to be diligent in getting the works done. Peter had 4½d. a day.⁴

In 1253 master William of Mont Sorelli was put in charge of the works at Gillingham and granted a robe. He was a mason, and, early in the year, the king had raised his wages from 6d. a day to 12d.⁵

The Viewers

The viewers, like the wardens, were of no particular rank or occupation, but had to be men of repute, the writ simply requiring that the work be done by view and testimony of good and lawful men.⁶ There are, however, many occasions on which the viewers are named. In May 1236 the sheriff of Southampton is ordered to have some work done at Winchester by the advice of master Elias of Derham and by view and testimony of Nicholas Kipping.⁷ In 1245 work at the same place was done by view of master Gerard the carpenter and Nicholas Kipping who is doubtless the same man.⁸ Nicholas Kipping seems to have been a local cloth merchant and doubtless a good and lawful man.⁹ Master Elias was probably a carpenter, and not, as has been said, the canon of Salisbury of that name.

In the Memoranda roll for 33 Henry III there is a note that Gilbert, son of Joye, and Roger, son of Odo, viewers of the works of the queen's chapel at Northampton, testified to the spending of £268 on the works of that chapel.¹⁰ The queen's chapel was ordered to be built by *contrabreve* to the sheriff, dated 10th August 1247, the cost to be credited by view.¹¹ The item illustrates the procedure which has been described.

There is one instance where we might have expected to read *custodes* rather than *visores*. On 24th July 1257 a mandate was addressed to William de Riston, bailiff of Woodstock, John le Pour, Nicholas le Pesher, and Reginald the clerk, viewers of the king's works at Woodstock, ordering them to receive various sums amounting to £61 for certain works which were to be done according to the arranging of master John of Gloucester and master Alexander the carpenter. The viewers were to answer for the cost of the work at the Exchequer.¹²

In 1252 Nicholas de la Hulle and Peter Hurell were appointed viewers of works at Haverling, and, with Thomas le Rus, the bailiff, were ordered to devote themselves loyally to the task (*fideliter intendant*).¹³

¹ C.L.R. 33 Henry III, p. 222.

² L.T.R. Mem. R. 21, m. 4d, 33 Henry III.

³ C.R. 35 Henry III, p. 427.

⁴ C.L.R. 35 Henry III, p. 337.

⁵ C.R. 37 Henry III, pp. 370 and 372, and C.L.R. 37 Henry III.

⁶ C.L.R. *passim*.

⁷ C.R. 20 Henry III, p. 268.

⁸ C.L.R. 29 Henry III, pp. 289-90.

⁹ C.L.R. 35 Henry III, pp. 315 and 339.

¹⁰ L.T.R. Mem. R. 21, m. 2, 33 Henry III.

¹¹ C.L.R. 31 Henry III, p. 137.

¹² C.R. 41 Henry III, p. 144.

¹³ C.R. 36 Henry III, p. 209.

At York Castle, in 1252, there appears a viewer on what was apparently a permanent basis. He was Thomas le Grant, described as 'king's merchant', and seems to have annoyed the king of Scotland; for, at the latter's request, the sheriff was ordered to dismiss Thomas and to appoint a suitable person in his stead.¹

There were also viewers of a different kind from those so far noticed. On 22nd August 1229 workmen, smiths and carpenters, were to come before Robert of Aundely and the sheriff to view the king's long carts in the castles of Bristol and Gloucester. They were to repair the defects in the carts 'in rotten wood, or other fittings, by view and testimony of lawful men'.² These workmen viewers had nothing to do with accounts, but were to see what repairs were needed, and then to do the work. The 'lawful men' viewed the account.

Master John, king's carpenter at Clarendon, in 1231, received timber from Clarendon forest for lifting machines and other work at the king's hall there, by view of the verderers and foresters.³ In this case the viewers were to see that no damage was done in the course of taking the timber.

It will be seen that viewers were mainly of two kinds, one of which testified to the accuracy of accounts, and the other, represented by skilled men, carried out inspections and recommended what should be done. In addition to these there were such viewers as verderers who had no interest at all in the work, but were merely looking after their own trust.

The wardenship of works might be the duty of the constable of a castle, bailiff of a town, or a clerk. A master workman was often included, in the case of extensive operations, because his technical knowledge would be valuable.

The Masons

I turn now to the masons who built the most enduring part of the buildings. They were only concerned with the stonework, and if contracts were made, that for the carpentry was separately concluded with the carpenter.⁴

It is wrong and misleading to describe the mason as an architect; for in the thirteenth century the latter did not exist. The skilled mason knew how to build in accordance with the customs of his trade, and in that one way alone. He needed no preliminary designs, and there is not the least evidence to suggest that he had any (see below under 'Designs and Designing').

Plans and dimensions were what mattered. Customary workmanship provided and developed the building forms necessary to complete the plan to the required specification. Problems were solved by experiments, and these were not always successful. I suppose the masons worked much in the same way as those who, without any designs, have erected noble buildings in India, Egypt, and elsewhere in our own times. Drawings may have been used to help the work in a practical way as building proceeded.

King Henry III recognized the value of his proved master workmen. In November 1256 the king decided to make John of Gloucester, mason, and

¹ C.R. 36 Henry III, p. 31.

² C.L.R. 13 Henry III, p. 140.

³ C.R. 16 Henry III, pp. 4 and 14.

⁴ C.R. 35 Henry III, p. 556 (at Havering, in 1251, Robert de Walede undertook the masonry and Richard de Waud the carpentry).

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Alexander the carpenter, chief masters of all works on this side of the Trent and Humber, to provide for the masonry and carpentry.¹

Evidence of their activities is slight. In 1257 they advised about a room at Windsor² and in July saw to some work at Woodstock.³ In the following December John arranged for the chimneys at Merton to be repaired.⁴ In 1259, as we have seen, he was engaged upon work at Westminster, and in 1260 he and Alexander were travelling after materials for the work of the abbey church.⁵ John is also ordered, on a number of occasions, to provide materials from the king's stocks, mainly to St. Martin's le Grand. Master John died in 1260.⁶

I can find no support for the statement by Professor Knoop and Mr. Jones that the above appointment marked the founding of the Office of Works. John and Alexander were given certain duties, but they belonged to no office. When John died no successor was commissioned. There was, of course, nothing new in a king's master being sent to advise upon or direct or view some royal work. But no organization in the form of an office of works in the modern sense could possibly have happened.

In 1253 John of Gloucester is described as *cementarius regis Westmonasterii*,⁷ and he may then have been in daily charge at the abbey, though the church is not mentioned. His wages were 12*d.* a day.⁸ It is possible that about this time those bays of the nave which contain the choir were begun, and they may have comprised the work that, in 1254, the king ordered to be pushed forward with a view to consecration on St. Edward's Day, 1255.⁹ In January 1255 John was sent to view and advise at Guildford, the king having assigned the whole farm of the town and the issues of its royal mills, yearly, to the work there;¹⁰ but who succeeded John at the abbey, if he had been there engaged, is not clear. Work on the nave seems to have been resumed, after an interval of several years, in 1259; but no mason is mentioned.¹¹ John of Beverley was working at the palace at this time, as we have seen, and so was not in charge at the abbey. I may add that on 12th October 1254 Philip Luvel and Edward of Westminster were ordered to provide for the roof of the church and lead for covering the same. It would be interesting to know what part was then awaiting its roof. In January 1255 the whole palace was ordered to be repaired and strengthened: *aulas, cameras et capellas tam sursum et deorsum et in parietibus*;¹² but there is reason to believe that Richard of Eltham and William de Wauz were the masons in charge.¹³ John was a warden of the works.

The Training of Masons

It is not known what arrangements existed in the thirteenth century for the training of young masons, or whether boys were bound to masters, as they were in more recent days. The word 'apprentice' is not found. There were *socii* and

¹ C.R. 41 Henry III, p. 11 and P.R. 41 Henry III, p. 588.

² C.R. 41 Henry III, p. 69.

³ C.R. 41 Henry III, p. 144.

⁴ C.R. 41 Henry III, p. 168.

⁵ C.R. 44 Henry III, p. 29.

⁶ Charter R. 44 Henry III, p. 29.

⁷ C.R. 37 Henry III, p. 366.

⁸ C.L.R. 37 Henry III.

⁹ P.R. 39 Henry III, p. 381.

¹⁰ C.R. 39 Henry III, pp. 26 and 41.

¹¹ C.R. 43 Henry III, p. 390.

¹² C.R. 39 Henry III, p. 157.

¹³ E 101/467/3.

servientes; but the former appear to have been partners and the latter servants. In the case of four plumbers, working at Westminster, *cum j serviente*,¹ the servant was possibly what came to be called the 'plumber's mate'.

There is no record of a guild of masons. In the account for 1253 master Odo was paid for thatch for the lodges (*pro literia ad logas*);² but Odo was a carpenter and the lodges are not described as belonging to the masons. It may here be added that in July 1250 master David, the king's carpenter at Clarendon, was assigned 100s. 'to build a house by view of the sheriff to the use of the king's workmen and to contain their tools'.³ It is reasonable to believe that the 'house' was the same kind of structure as that which in the accounts is called *loga*, and it seems not to have been for the exclusive use of one class of workman.

In the time of Henry III skilled masons are variously described. In Chancery and Exchequer documents the most frequent designation is *cementarius*, but *masoun*, *macun*, *macon*, and *mazun* also are found. *Cementarius* occurs in the building accounts together with more particular terms such as *asseditores* and *cubitores* (layers) and *alborum cissores* (stone-cutters).

The stone-cutters may have learnt their trade at the quarries; but the setting out of work and laying would be taught where building was in progress, and here, also, the masons learnt about stresses and strains.

No information is available as to what qualifications enabled a mason to become a master; but every skilled man had probably had the chance of gaining all current knowledge; and, according to his ability and experience, would be competent to mastership. It is wrong to imagine that the master was a person of superior education and training to the skilled tradesmen, or that he was especially instructed in planning and designing. This has been guardedly suggested by Professor Douglas Knoop and Mr. G. P. Jones, but they are not successful in proving it to be the fact.⁴

The King's Masons

The records of the reign of king Henry III show that several masons, including masters Henry, John, and others, were employed by the king, and that they had wages, robes, and sometimes other rewards. Master Henry, in the earliest known reference to him, is styled 'Henry, master of the king's masons'; but the usual form is 'master Henry, or John, mason, or king's mason'. The term 'king's mason' seems to have had no particular significance, and to have been used at the caprice of the scribe.

Robes were granted at the king's will to persons in various stations of life as well as to workmen, generally at the approach of Whitsuntide and Christmas. The mandate might provide that they should be knight's, esquire's, or suitable robes, but there is no mention of a master's robe. Sometimes it was stated whether they were to be furred, and, if so, with what kind of fur. Robes were occasionally granted to a tradesman's wife, apparently, as a generous act on the part of the king. The wives of master John the mason and master Alexander the carpenter each had such gifts.

¹ E 101/467/1 at the P.R.O.

² *Ibid.*

³ C.L.R. 34 Henry III, p. 296.

⁴ *Introduction to Freemasonry* (1937), pp. 18-25.

The Title of the Master

It is certainly misleading to call the master, whether mason or carpenter, by the title 'architect'. He was not so called by his contemporaries, and, slight though the evidence may be, it is enough to show that his work was not similar to that which occupies him who is in modern times named 'architect'. This is easily demonstrated.

If we accept the first master associated with the rebuilding of the abbey church as 'Henry, master of the king's masons', as he appears in the roll, we may agree that he was a master of masonry who had charge of a body of masons engaged in that work; that he was expected to see that his men were of good skill, and that they duly exercised it; that he would have responsibility in respect of the supply and quality of the stone, and share, with the wardens of the works, the executive tasks connected with his job. There is no need to state at length how very different a person would be called to mind if the same man were introduced as 'Henry, the architect'.

Designs and Designing

It will be observed that there is no mention of designs. The reason is that no contemporary document in any way connected with building refers to designs. There is, in fact, nothing at all about drawings, and it is probable that Lethaby described the situation in the best possible way when he said that 'Designing was merely contrivance, the doing of work in an ordinary way'.¹ There was certainly no designing as we understand it to-day. The explanation may be that the masons, being accustomed and trained to build in the way they did, found no need of designs, and so did not think of making any. They could draw, and they made templates and the like. They may also have made a rough sketch whenever one seemed likely to prove helpful; that they used such sketches to illustrate a point, or in discussion, is proved by the sketch-book of Vilars de Honcourt. It is clear that draughtsmanship was neither cultivated nor used, in the time of Henry III, as it has been by professional architects of recent experience. Indeed, down to our own days, in such parts as India and Egypt, important buildings have been erected without the aid of preliminary designs, or of any person trained, as is the architect, in the production of such instruments.

I therefore submit that the absence of any evidence of the making of designs within the period under notice, and the character of such drawing as is known to have then been done, are acceptable proofs that no such designs were used.

Tracing and the Loga

The tracing of patterns for moulds or templates, made for the guidance of those who cut tracery bars and other details, may have been done in the *loga*. In later times there are references to a 'tracing-house' where, obviously, such work would then be done; but in the reign of King Henry III there was only the *loga*. This seems to have been a timbered building with a thatched roof, which the workmen used for purposes not specified, and in which they also kept their tools. There is nothing to suggest that it belonged exclusively to the masons.

¹ *Journal of the R.I.B.A.*, June 1901.

Quality of Work

The surviving works of the thirteenth century are mainly examples of important ecclesiastical or royal buildings on which the best available skill would have been employed. As is known, some, even of this class, were ill constructed and fell, and there must have been numerous failures of lesser works of which there is no record. There were good and bad among the men, but there was certainly a considerable body of highly skilled masons who have left splendid evidence of what they could do. It fully justifies the wide interest that has so long been shown in the question how they did it.

Organization

Very little can be said under this heading. There seems to have been no particular office, or servant of the king, generally responsible for the king's buildings and their maintenance. The fact that regular care was needed to keep them in good order was often overlooked, especially in the case of the royal residences. The greater castles under their constables fared better, doubtless owing to their military character. Henry's palaces were so numerous that only a particularly well-established central authority could have ensured their welfare, and nothing of the kind existed.

Buildings were frequently neglected, and quickly fell into disrepair. The *custos domorum regis* was not always a faithful servant. Some buildings were left unfinished for long periods. The extensive use of timber, and of shingles for roofing, added to the danger from fire. It is not at all surprising that a new building should be costing a good deal in repair only a few years after its completion.

Much remains to be found out, if it can be, about the workmen and their methods, especially the masters; and contemporary evidence must be studied without preconceptions and in its relation to the period, not to a later or recent epoch.

In his learned work on archive administration Mr. Hilary Jenkinson points out the kind of evidence that, in certain circumstances, can tell us nothing but the truth; but we have never yet had presented to us a treatise on masonry exclusively founded upon that sort of evidence studied in those circumstances. When it comes, the right road will be open.

Much spade-work in the form of painfully compiled monographs must precede the final exegesis of building, and, in due course, its author, perhaps, 'will fling a footnote of gratitude to those who have saved his time and his eyes'.¹

¹ Maitland, quoted by Hilary Jenkinson.

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APPENDIX I

*Extracts from E101/467/4 at the P.R.O. A Works account, temp. Henry III,
for work at Westminster*

This fragment has no beginning and no date; but is probably c. 1254. Numerous workmen named in the account for 1253 appear in it.

It begins as follows:

Asseditores	vd	
Eid viij Die lune deſ	Will Nedelawe	xxvj s viij d
	Alf Westm p vij ebd	xiiij s x d
	Roḡ lutoṇ	
	Henr de Risb'we	
	Will donestapele	xxiiij s ij d
	Will de Redḡ	
	Will Tothulo	

The five men bracketed together each received 23s. 2d.; and other names follow with the wages they had entered on the right. The remarks on the left of the manuscript, not all of which are legible, include references to task-work: *desunt p taschiā eid xj* and *eid xj rednt de tasch*, which show that men who worked for wages occasionally turned to task-work for a time. Seventeen other workmen are named, and the total sum paid to them was £16. 2s. 2d.

The account then continues:

Emptiones a purificat' usq3 in vigil Pasch	p xj ebd
p tasch int'it ^o capituli	xxv li
In tasch iij fermarū eodē	xj li
Itē eid p tasch capelle dñi Regis	ix li vj s viij d
It Gileb Norū p tasch muri jux ^a berefrid	c s
It Wilt Yxewerth p ij ymaginib3	liij s iiij d

A selection of other items may now be given:

It p ij navať fñce pet ^e de Cane	x li iiij s viij d
It Roḡ Reygate p MMIX ^c et iij q ^{rt} pet ^e	ix li xiiij s iiij d ob
p marmoř cisš ad tasch	xij li xvij s iiij d ob
In stipend alborum cisš	lxviij li ix s ix d
It in stipend marmorum ^t de eodem sacco	x li xvij s ij d
It eisdem marmor' de t ^{rcio} [sacco]	xxiiij li iij s iiij d
In stipend cubitor'	xvj li ij s ij d
It de q ^{arto} sacco ad stipend eorund [minutor']	xxxix li viij s d ob
It p fñca petra de Came	x l iiij s viij d
Itē Magro Joh apd sām Albañ	vij iiij d

(In respect of the dating of this account, it may be mentioned that the lectern John was there making was finished in or before 1256 (C.R. 40 Henry III, p. 416) so that the account seems certainly to be earlier than that year.)

Warino pictoř p ij ymagin pinxit cū coloř	xj s
Roḡ de beverley p iiij ^{or} clavib3	xxxij s

^t This might be read *marinorum*.

Two workmen of particular interest are William Yxewerth, who made two images, and Warinus the painter, who painted two which may possibly, though by no means certainly, have been those wrought by William. There is no doubt that they were important works. The 53s. 4d. would be equivalent to at least £100, and the 11s. to £20 (1939 values). Unfortunately, there is not, as far as I can find, any further record of these two men, and we cannot be sure what material William's images were made of, or whether Warinus decorated two carved figures or painted them on a wall.

The account has much in common with that of 1253 (E 101/467/1) and both show considerable numbers of stone-cutters, stone-layers, and marblers at work. There is no doubt that the building of the main fabric and its adornment were proceeding apace. It is also of interest to find the name of Gilbert Norman, a mason working on a wall near the belfry. The fact that he was a mason is proved by his appearance among the masons in another account (E 101/467/3).

A BEAKER INTERMENT ON STOCKBRIDGE DOWN, HAMPSHIRE, AND ITS CULTURAL CONNEXIONS

By J. F. S. STONE, B.A., D.Phil., F.S.A.

THE archaeology of Stockbridge Down owes much to the interest of the late Colonel Sir Norman Gray Hill, Bt., M.C., M.B., who was killed in an aeroplane accident in 1944. This piece of downland, recently presented to the National Trust by Miss Rosalind Hill, has, as a result, yielded information of outstanding interest,¹ and it remains for the present writer, who was associated with the work, to record his last find, a Beaker burial at the spot marked *y* on the sketch-map (fig. 1).

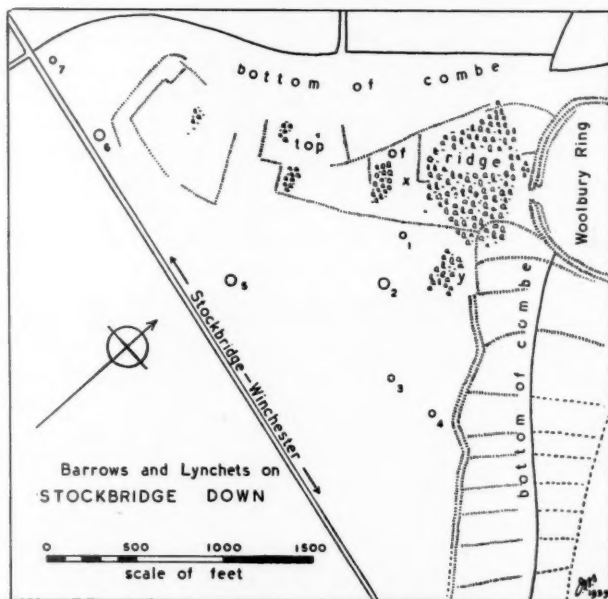


FIG. 1. Sketch-map of Stockbridge Down.

Fragments of a human skull and beaker were found lying in a rabbit-scape below the southern crest of the knoll. The ground here was uneven from animal activity, but no trace of a barrow could be discovered. Little excavation disclosed a much-decayed and somewhat scattered skeleton of a woman in a contracted position with a beaker, slightly broken but standing upright, against her right knee (pl. xvii *b*). The grave itself was oval in shape, about 3 ft. by 2½ ft., and very shallow, being little more than 1 ft. deep. The thickness of the turf and loam varied slightly,

¹ *Trans. Hants F.C.* xiii, 247; *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1938), iv, 249; *Antiq. Journ.* (1940), xx, 39.

its average depth being 6 in. A fairly wide area around the grave, 23 ft. by 9 ft., was uncovered down to the chalk, but no trace of a surrounding ditch was found, nor were there any other burials in the immediate vicinity.

The fragmentary skeleton was that of an adult woman of small stature. Part of the vault of the skull remained undisturbed, but all the bones of the face and neck had been removed by rabbits, and most of the vertebrae had been broken and displaced by a second burrow. Roots from bushes had damaged the contents of the grave, but enough remained undisturbed to show that the body had originally been laid on its left side facing north-west.

The beaker (pl. xvii a) is 6.25 in. high, brick-red in colour, and ornamented with plain 'hyphenated' ornament, no particular care having been taken to prevent overlapping. Until more is known of this class of vessel in the Hampshire region we cannot but describe this specimen as a very poor example of the B1 class which, as Piggott has shown,¹ is centred in this area and probably arrived up the Avon valley. In any event it would appear on current views to be later typologically than the typical B1 beaker found in Barrow 1 close by,² and falls into line with the so-called 'degenerate' beakers from the Bournemouth district³ of which the example from Sheepwash is very similar. Most of the beakers from this district came from flat ground without trace of a barrow or accompanying burial: a fact to be accounted for by the acid nature of the soil, which is inimical to the preservation of bone.

Since the typical B1 beaker passed through this region to Wessex, we have to explain the surprising 'degeneracy' of many found in this area of primary distribution. Have we to infer a long life to the Beaker tradition; or to mixed skilled and unskilled but contemporary potters; or, as Mr. Calkin has suggested to the writer, were the remnants of the Beaker colonists of Salisbury Plain driven back to the forest by the incoming aristocracy of the now well-established Wessex Culture, there to moulder in a dying tradition? Or again, we cannot overlook the possible gradual absorption of the Beaker tradition by the native Food Vessel Culture known to have existed contemporaneously,⁴ and which found its full expression in the later Middle Bronze Age collared urns under the Wessex Culture.

The beakers of Wessex belong entirely to the A and B1 varieties, and hybridization, such as one finds in the Highland Zone and in such areas as the Oxfordshire gravels, is absent. Although an A beaker and a handled beaker reached the Bournemouth district from the hinterland⁵ along Piggott's route 2,⁶ i.e. in an opposite direction from that from which the B1 beakers arrived, the only suggested evidence of fusion of the two cultures has been in the possible construction of the Avebury circle and avenue.⁷ Evidence for fusion presupposes the coexistence of the two cultures, an unwarranted assumption in Wiltshire where the two have not been found in direct association. And we should recall from the excavation of Giant's Hills long barrow⁸ that B beakers would seem to have arrived in Lincoln-

¹ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1938), iv, 58.

² *Antiq. Journ.* (1940), xx, 41.

³ Calkin, *Trans. South-Eastern Union of Scientific Societies*, 1935, 21.

⁴ Cf. Fargo Plantation grave, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*

(1938), xlviii, 357.

⁵ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1938), iv, 181.

⁶ *Ibid.* 54.

⁷ *Ibid.* 57.

⁸ *Arch.* (1936), lxxv, 53.



a. Beaker from Stockbridge Down grave ($\frac{1}{2}$)



b. Stockbridge Down grave, showing beaker *in situ*

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shire before the appearance of A beakers. Detailed interrelations, if any, have yet to be worked out, but we should bear the point in mind that the B1 complex may have passed through and left Salisbury Plain before the arrival of the A complex from the north-east. The latter complex in its turn, having ranged the chalk downs, moved onwards to the Mendips, stopping for a while at Gorsey Bigbury¹ prior to probable migration to Ireland. Beakers of both types A and B are stated to have been found at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, and are in no sense degenerate or derivative but directly comparable with those of south-west England.² This fact alone should warn us against too ready acceptance of 'degeneracy' in beakers; the primary nomads retained a high degree of purity in their ware during their migrations, and other interpretations are possible for the sporadic occurrence of ill-made wares.

Fox has recently subdivided the B1 beakers into types B1 (α) of rounded profile, and B1 (β) of angular profile, a point hitherto overlooked,³ and has implied that intermediate forms are to be found in Wessex. This may be the case in the Upper Thames valley, but we doubt its applicability to the chalk areas of the region. Until more detailed information is forthcoming we prefer the alternative explanation of unskilled potting outlined below. Fox goes farther and suggests the possibility that cordons found below the rims of some beakers of the B1 type may derive from such cordons as those found on early food-vessels of the Fargo Plantation type. In view of the frequency of such ornament on Rhenish beakers, which he notices, it seems unnecessary to invoke such hybridization. Amongst other examples the typical B1 (α) beaker found on Stockbridge Down⁴ possesses six or seven such grooves or cordons just below the rim, and there is therefore little reason to doubt this as an original feature of some of the newly introduced wares.

Though widely scattered and isolated, comparatively few beakers have been found in Wessex. Piggott in 1938 listed no more than forty-seven of the B1 variety, and A beakers are probably no more numerous. In comparison with north-east Scotland, where Childe has stressed their long life and overlap with food-vessels,⁵ we cannot but infer a temporary and transitory occupation, a view strengthened by the lack of cemeteries such as those of Oxfordshire.⁶ Crichel Down yielded four beakers of both types A and B1 under very low mounds, and their contiguity prompted Piggott to compare them with these cemeteries.⁷ Other undiscovered burials may certainly exist at Crichel and elsewhere under low mounds which have long since disappeared, but until similar cemeteries have been found in Wessex it is doubtful whether comparisons are valid.

Domestic and occupational refuse also supports this view of transitory occupation. Beaker sherds of both A and B varieties (unassociated) have been obtained from some dozen so far excavated dwelling-pits surrounding the flint mines on Easton Down, and these, coupled with sherds picked up over the occupied area, weigh no more than a mere 5 lb. or so, a puny weight if more than a few years of temporary occupation have to be postulated. Stonehenge, the alleged focus of Beaker Culture

¹ *Proc. Bristol Univ. Spel. Soc.* (1938), v, 3.

² *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1946), xii, 148.

³ *Arch.* (1943), lxxxix, 100.

⁴ *Antiq. Journ.* (1940), xx, 41.

⁵ *Scotland before the Scots*, 8.

⁶ *Oxoniensia* (1938), iii, 7.

⁷ *Arch.* (1944), xc, 52.

based upon Abercromby's unwarranted acceptance of all Colt Hoare's 'drinking cups' as beakers, is in no better case. From the ditch and centrally excavated area it is doubtful whether a pound of beaker sherds was recovered; no more in fact than one or two families could have dropped during a day or two's visit, in much the same way as Roman ware of later times.

The acknowledged implication of this thin scatter of burials and occupational refuse lies in the nomadic habits of the colonists. We may go farther and question whether these nomads ever returned in their tracks, but moved rather outwards and northwards from this primary area to settle and finally become absorbed in the Highland Zone.

In the first place are we justified in our use of the term 'degenerate' applied to beakers in this primary area of distribution? Typological assessment is not necessarily an infallible guide. Two B1 beakers from the same grave at Larkhill have recently been published by Shortt.¹ Their dissimilarity in style and finish is so pronounced that, had they been found separately, a considerable difference in date could have been justifiably concluded. Their position implies contemporaneity, however, and it is clear that we must not accept a 'degenerate'-looking beaker in Wiltshire as necessarily of late date.

How then are we to explain their sporadic appearance? Unskilled apprentice potters must have existed then as now and, in the absence of machine-made articles, considerable personal variation in competence can be expected. The general uniformity of the ware over so large an area of Europe is really more surprising than regional variations. And though weight must be given to the strength of tradition, ill-made articles were bound to make their appearance in the hands of the inexperienced, and in the absence of an expert. Allowances must also be made for attempts at copying the newly introduced wares by the Late Neolithic population; new fashions, especially when used so universally by the colonists for both domestic and sepulchral use, must have excited attempts at imitation. Being, however, no part of their tradition such attempts must often, though not always, have proved clumsy and would not necessarily persist. This might explain the absence of beaker elements in the ceramics of subsequent periods in Wessex.

Fox cites two instances from Wiltshire which he views as evidence of ceramic overlap:² two small collared vessels deposited with inhumations from Normanton,³ with a typical assemblage of Wessex Culture grave-goods, and from Collingbourne.⁴ Although both possess an ornamental layout recalling that of beakers, the technique used is different; hyphenated ornament is absent, the motif on the former being executed in minute whipped cord or fine serrated tooling, together with a certain amount of grooving, whilst the latter is entirely cord-ornamented. As Fox rightly insists, we await an authoritative study of the origins and evolution of the collared urn.

That attempts at copying the ware need not always have proved unsuccessful is implied by the secondary burials with beakers in the topmost layers of long barrows, the skulls of which are typically dolichocephalic and indistinguishable from those

¹ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* (1946), li, 381.

² *Arch.* (1943), lxxxix, 107.

³ *Devizes Mus. Cat.* (1896), Part I, no. 280.

⁴ *Arch.* (1871), xliii, 379.

of the native Neolithic population. Thickthorn long barrow, for instance, produced two such secondaries,¹ and nothing would be more natural than that the surviving Late Neolithic population should use their own tombs for this purpose. True brachycephalic skulls have, however, been found with beakers as secondary interments in long barrows at Winterbourne Stoke, Wilsford, and Figgheldean, proving that the Beaker Folk themselves occasionally used this method of burial.²

The Beaker-Food-vessel-Wessex Culture overlap is at present ill defined. That food-vessels of northern or even of Irish origin³ coexisted with beakers of type A is suggested by the contents of the Fargo Plantation grave;⁴ and that Food-vessel elements persisted into the Wessex Culture is clear from the occurrence in that culture of crescentic amber necklaces, jet necklaces, and, among other things, the later collared urns presumably derived from native vessels.⁵ But although such elements are clearly discernible we have in the south no such well-defined and widespread culture as in the Highland Zone.

This lack of clear definition may be due among other things to the early introduction of cremation and to its acceptance by the Late Neolithic population. To Childe, the rarity of food-vessels south of the Thames is due to the early establishment of the intrusive Wessex Culture which cut short the development of native traditions;⁶ but if, as we suggest, the Beaker occupation was not prolonged in either of its B or A phases, other explanations must be sought. Hogg cites seven instances of primary 'platform' cremations in long barrows, as distinct from the Yorkshire 'crematorium' trenches, six in Wiltshire⁷ and one in Somerset,⁸ whilst discussing a similar instance from West Rudham, Norfolk.⁹ And Phillips has called attention to the unpublished excavation of the Priddy long barrow which was inconclusive but suggested cremation.¹⁰ Though small in number their distribution is suggestive; all are concentrated on both sides of the Frome gap, the narrow forest-belt dividing the southern Cotswolds from Salisbury Plain, the significance of which was first discussed by Crawford.¹¹

Childe has pointed out that cremation was the normal rite in Irish passage graves and occurs commonly in the segmented cists of north Ireland and sporadically in their Scottish counterparts.¹² From this and its early occurrence in northern England he deduces that in Britain the rite was originally adopted from the Boyne group.

The southward trend of the later trade in stone axes has clearly been demonstrated, not only from Stake Pass in Cumberland but also from Graig Lwyd in north Wales, and these arrived in Wessex in large numbers. Axes from Tievebullagh Hill, Co. Antrim, have likewise been identified petrologically in the south,¹³

¹ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1936), ii, 92.

² *Arch.* (1869), xlii, 197.

³ Childe, *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*, 119.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1938), iv, 91.

⁶ Childe, *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*, 132.

⁷ Tilshead 1 and 2, Sherrington 1, Knook 2, and

Bratton 1. Winterbourne Stoke 53 is included though not accepted in *Map of Neolithic Wessex*.

⁸ Murty Hill.

⁹ *Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc.* xxvii, 315; *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv, 336.

¹⁰ *Arch.* (1936), lxxxv, 89.

¹¹ *Map of Neolithic Wessex*, 1932, 13.

¹² *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*, 52.

¹³ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1941), vii, 50.

and more recently others which may be compared with baked lias shales from Portrush. The natural route for such trade would be through the midland gap, and it is by no means improbable that the rite of cremation followed in its wake, one of its entrances into Wiltshire being through the Frome gap.

Evidence for primary cremations associated with inhumations in long barrows of the Severn-Cotswold group is rare but not absent. Again, it is significantly concentrated at the southern end of the Cotswolds opposite the Severn estuary. Thus, for either sepulchral or sacrificial purposes, burnt human bones were found in the Rodmarton, Randwick, and Nymbsfield barrows.¹ As a connecting-link with Murty Hill on the west side of the Frome gap we can but notice the cremations in Stoney Littleton long barrow which Colt Hoare was convinced were later insertions.² But across the Severn we have Ffostyll (South) barrow in Brecknockshire.³ This concentration of a foreign rite in long barrows around the Severn estuary implies a sea route rather than the midland gap route, and this sea route would accord better with the distribution in the southern counties of the Irish stone axes. In any case cremation was a recognized practice in Wiltshire in Late Neolithic times, and we need no longer invoke Yorkshire as the home of the cremation long barrow as did Phillips in 1936.⁴

From the evidence available it is becoming increasingly probable that the henge monuments of the early timber and earthen circle varieties were erected by Late Neolithic people of Grooved Ware affinities. A characteristic of Late Neolithic cultures seems to have lain in their social structure, a primitive type of communism, possibly stressed too comprehensively by Childe,⁵ but which found its religious expression in communal, though not necessarily contemporary, burial in megalithic structures. Such burial with its connotations would clearly conflict with the single-grave principle introduced by the Beaker Folk, and it would not be surprising to find reversion to the original rite, albeit modified by the introduction of cremation, after their passage elsewhere. Cremation, though not universally accepted, cannot have antagonized the erstwhile Beaker-dominated natives to the same extent as the introduction of single-grave inhumation.

One of the outstanding features of the excavations at Stonehenge lay in the number of cremations found closely packed together in the already silted-up ditch, bank, and Aubrey holes. Their introduction clearly postdates the original timber structure; their concentration implies a communal tradition. Can they be shown to antedate the erection of the Sarsen circle and trilithons, and thus the arrival of the Wessex Culture?

The excavation reports lack precision, but tentative inferences are possible. Grave-goods were extremely rare—a Neolithic trait—but those found imply a poor Food-vessel context. These included a cushion macehead, four bone pins, two flint fabricators, and a 'pygmy cup' recalling that from Dorchester, Dorset, and

¹ Crawford, *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds*, 120, 133, and 144; *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1938), iv, 199 and 205.

² *Somerset Arch. Soc.* viii, 46; also *Arch.* (1869), xlii, 226.

³ *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds*, 58.

⁴ *Arch.* (1936), lxxxv, 89.

⁵ *Scotland before the Scots*, 33. Inferences from Skara Brae are doubtfully applicable to habitation sites of Windmill Hill type in the south.

likened by Piggott to the Breton *vase-support*.¹ But these 'cups' are extremely exotic and possess characters more in accord with Abercromby's type I food-vessel than with the foreign *vase-support*. This rarity of grave-goods is certainly not characteristic of Wessex Culture burials, and we are obviously not concerned here with Late Bronze Age urnfields which in any case are surprisingly rare on Salisbury Plain.

Such considerations suggest that the Stonehenge cremations represent the recrudescence of communal cemetery burial we are seeking, and this is confirmed by the similar groups of unurned cremations associated as secondary features with the two Late Neolithic timber henges recently excavated at Dorchester, Oxfordshire,² one of which also contained a cushion macehead. Surely we are dealing here with the same phenomena, and other groups of similar cremations may be expected associated as secondary features of other early henges and barrows. A pointer comes from Howe Hill in Yorkshire, a Neolithic round barrow excavated by Mortimer.³ As primaries this contained a number of communally buried skeletons; but as secondaries and sealed in under a clay layer covering the inner mound, large numbers of cremations were encountered. These again were without urns or grave-goods, and many appear to have been contemporary with the primary burials. In Wiltshire the barrows excavated by Lukis at Collingbourne are also worth noting in the same way.⁴

It may be objected that the Stonehenge cremations belong to the Wessex Culture itself and represent the remains of 'poor relations' or those of a lower social order. But this contention ignores the concentration of richly furnished barrows that surround the structure. Would the builders of these have permitted contemporary natives to encroach on their sacred enclosure? Again, it may be objected that they represent ritual sacrifices unconnected with normal burial. If prior to the rebuilding of Stonehenge, how can we explain the use of such structures already fallen into decay, for the siting of the cremations implies a disregard for ditches, banks, and rotting or rotted posts? If later than the erection of the Sarsen circle we are faced with the difficulty of the few associated grave-goods. It is here suggested that the decayed and silted-up henges retained a degree of sanctity remembered by the natives and which induced them to bury their cremated dead in just such places.

If then we are dealing with a native reversion to communal cemetery burial following upon a withdrawal of the Beaker Folk, what relationship existed between these natives, really of Mesolithic hunting-stock,⁵ and the Food Vessel Culture; or are they one and the same manifestation? As noted, the culture though detectable is not strongly marked ceramically. Wessex, and in particular Salisbury Plain, would thus appear to have devolved into a cultural backwater compared with the comparable period in the north, precisely what one would expect after the passage of the virile Beaker Culture. It is generally agreed that the type A culture derived its metal objects by trade with the natives of the north and west; whilst the B culture in its original phase arrived already supplied with tanged copper knives.⁶ The Fargo

¹ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1938), iv, 77.

³ *Researches*, 23.

⁴ *Arch.* (1871), xliii, 330.

² Information kindly supplied by Mr. R. J. C. Atkinson and Mrs. C. M. Piggott.

⁵ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* (1938), iv, 91.

⁶ *Ibid.* 56.

Plantation food-vessel implies an Irish connexion, and it is not therefore surprising to find Beaker Folk of both cultures migrating to the mineral regions of Ireland and the north, thus leaving Wessex a 'depressed area'. But in the Highland Zone the position was reversed; there the Beaker Folk tended to settle and thus acted as a constant stimulus to the natives who proceeded to evolve their own characteristic ceramics and culture. With the south they refrained from bartering until the arrival of the Wessex Culture.

Urnless cremations and a few poorly made food-vessels alone therefore attest the period; but for domestic record we are better supplied. The downs between Stonehenge and Woodhenge are littered with a flint industry of debased Mesolithic tradition, characterized by fabricators and other tools rightly likened to the Food-vessel tools of Yorkshire.¹ A similar, but as yet unrecorded, industry exists south of Stonehenge, the extent of the whole implying lengthy occupation.

Whether we view the Beaker episodes as separated by short or lengthy periods of time, the influence of the migrants on the native substratum is barely perceptible in Wessex. The native element seems to have persisted at a low cultural level until the Wessex Culture revival, and it is suggested that the communal cremation cemeteries, such as at Stonehenge, are ancestral to the Middle Bronze Age urn-fields exemplified on Easton Down.² In any event we arrive at the tentative conclusion that our Stockbridge beaker is not necessarily of late date, and was in all probability made by some unskilled potter contemporary with the well-made beaker in Barrow 1 near by.

The vessel was given in 1939 to the British Museum, to the Trustees of which I am indebted for permission to publish the illustration. I should add that I have had the advantage of reading in proof a paper by Professor Piggott, who is, however, in no sense responsible for the statements or inferences made herein.

¹ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* (1938), xlviii, 150.

² *Ibid.* (1933), xlvi, 218.

A BRONZE CAULDRON FROM SOMPTING, SUSSEX

By E. CECIL CURWEN, M.A., M.B., F.S.A.

DURING the autumn of 1946 a hoard of bronzes was discovered during excavation for foundations in the bottom of a down-land valley in the parish of Sompting, near Worthing. The site is a point approximately 300 ft. north-east of Hill Barn and 1,500 ft. south-west of the south-west edge of Lancing Ring,¹ and is on property belonging to Hill Barn Nurseries. The bronzes were unearthed by a mechanical excavator at a depth of about 5 ft. in a valley-bottom accumulation of brown clayey mould. How much of this material is natural hill-wash and how much the result of cultivation of the valley in ancient and modern times it would be difficult to say. The depth at which the bronzes were found suggests that some of the soil may have been ploughed down into the valley bottom at a later period.

The hoard, which has been presented to the Worthing Museum by the landowner, Mr. J. A. Linfield, consists of:

1. The greater part of a bronze cauldron.
2. Sheets of bronze apparently derived from one or more larger cauldrons.
3. A boss-like object of sheet bronze.
4. Seventeen socketed axes.

The precise relationship of these objects to one another was not observed, though they all came from the same spot. As they were clawed from the ground by the mechanical grab, it is fortunate that they were noticed at all, and thanks are due to Mr. Linfield for the interest he has taken in the matter. I am also indebted to Dr. H. B. Densham of Worthing for drawing my attention to the discovery in the first instance.

1. The cauldron (pls. xviii and xix and figs. 1 and 2) has been smashed beyond repair by the ungentle grab, though it was undoubtedly in bad condition before its discovery, for the bronze plates are very much corroded and very thin. Even the rim, which is the best-preserved part, is now incomplete and much bent, and is considered to be beyond repair. The plates forming the body of the vessel are torn open and buckled and are separated from the top plate from which the rim is formed. Most of the basal plate is also missing. With so much damage it is difficult to reconstruct the vessel with any confidence; an attempt to do this has, however, been made in fig. 1, based on a careful series of measurements of the surviving pieces, and I think that this reconstruction cannot be greatly in error.

The external diameter of the rim was about 12½ in., and the internal diameter of the brim between 8 and 9 in. The greatest diameter of the body of the cauldron was about 17 in., and its height—the least certain dimension—may have been about 10 in. The vessel was therefore a small one of its kind, and belongs to Class B 2 of Leeds's classification.² The body appears to have had the form of an oblate spheroid,

¹ 6 in. O.S., LXIV, NE., 11.3 in. from left margin, and 3.7 in. from lower margin. The Hill Barn in question is to be distinguished from a barn

of the same name situated half a mile to the ENE. in the parish of North Lancing.

² *Arch. lxxx* (1930), 12.

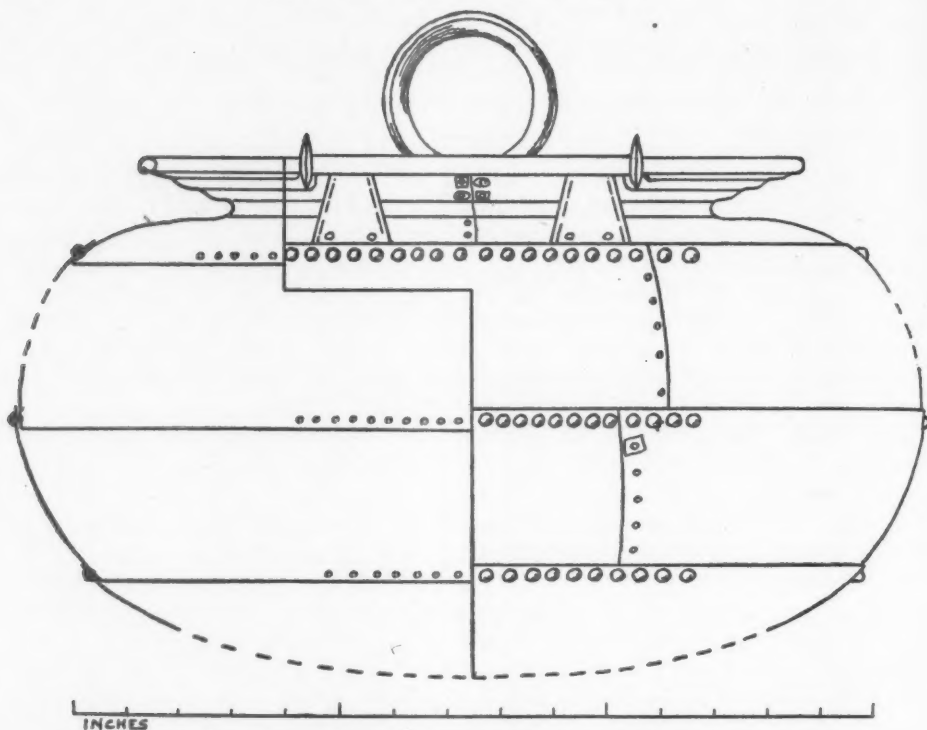


FIG. 1. Tentative reconstruction of the Sompston Cauldron.

with a calculated capacity of rather less than 5 gallons. It was constructed of seven strips or plates of bronze in four tiers—two in each of the three upper tiers, and one forming the rounded base. The plates are united by rivets, those in the horizontal junctions having sub-conical heads, set at intervals which average $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ in., while those used for the vertical joints and sundry later repairs have small, inconspicuous heads. The plates overlap for $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ in., the lower ones lapping over the upper. There is evidence of much secondary repair-work in the form of small plates of bronze fastened by small-headed rivets to act as patches or struts. In three instances a crack in one of the plates has been repaired by inserting a folded slip of sheet-bronze through the crack and then hammering it so that it has spread out flat on both faces, thus sealing the leak (fig. 3). The slip was so shaped that the folded part on the one face is longer than the splayed ends on the other, thus covering the ends of the crack. No brazing or soldering was used.

The uppermost pair of plates have been folded back to form the brim, as is usual in this type of cauldron; the junctions between them are covered by the staples for the ring-handles. The brim, which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, has concentric corrugations—two ridges and three troughs—except for a flat stretch of 4 to 5 in. beneath each



a. Fragments of rim of the Sompting cauldron ($\frac{1}{4}$)



b. Part of side of cauldron, showing repairs (*c.* $\frac{1}{4}$)



Details of handles of the Sompting cauldron (*above*, c. $\frac{5}{6}$; *below*, c. $\frac{1}{6}$)

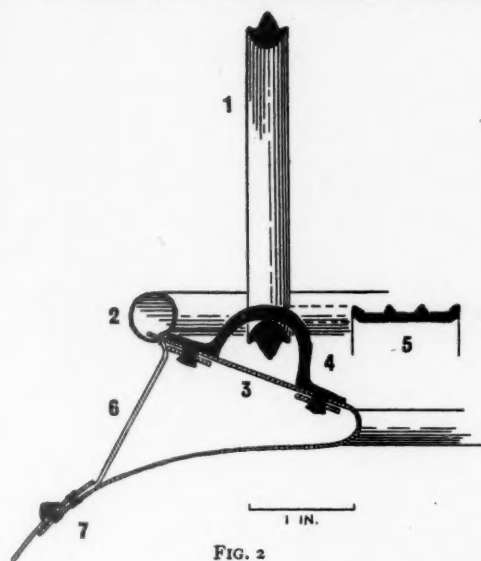


FIG. 2

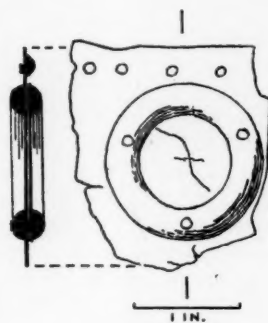


FIG. 4

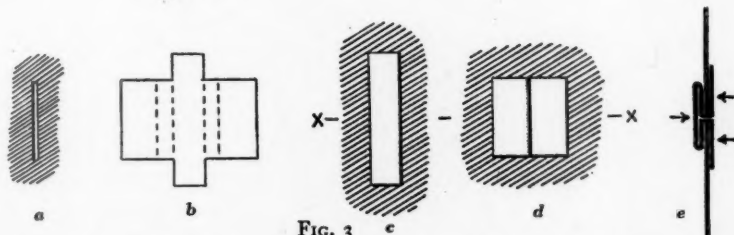


FIG. 3

FIG. 2. Details of the brim (approximate): 1, ring for suspension; 2, tubular beading of rim; 3, brim; 4, staple; 5, section of ditto; 6, stay (projected from a different plane); 7, rivets joining two upper plates. (§)

FIG. 3. Diagrams showing method of repairing cracked plate: *a*, crack, widened if necessary; *b*, patch cut from sheet bronze, folded along broken lines; *c*, appearance of patch on one face of wall of cauldron; *d*, ditto on the other face; *e*, section (to larger scale) along line *X-X* (*c*, *d*) to show folding of patch; arrows indicate hammering.

FIG. 4. Another method of patching a cracked plate. (§)

handle. The rim is formed of sheets of bronze rolled into tubular beadings, the plain edge of the brim being inserted into the slit between the edges of the sheet forming this beading (fig. 2). This latter is made in four pieces—two pieces $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, forming the greater part of the rim between the handles; and two pieces 6 in. long rolled into tubes of slightly greater diameter than the others and forming the parts of the rim opposite the handles. These tubes overlapped one another, the longer pieces fitting inside the shorter for a distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 in., and the junctions were secured by rivets. At each end of the shorter and thicker beadings lenticular attachments (Leeds's 'A-shaped mouldings') appear to have been cast on to the

tubular rim. It is opposite these attachments that the corrugations of the brim cease by turning outwards at right angles. One of the two shorter and thicker pieces of beading is missing, and must have been broken away during the time when the cauldron was in use, for its place has in part been taken by a mass of metal that has been roughly cast on to the rim at this point.

Stays, or struts, placed between the staple of each ring-handle and the adjacent 'lenticular attachments' served to transfer the strain from the brim to the shoulder of the cauldron when it was suspended by the ring-handles. Parts of two of these stays are still attached to the shoulder, and three other detached stays are present, so that similar support may have been given by them to the brim at other points on the circumference. These stays consist of strips of sheet bronze, tapering from a width of 1.5 or 1.8 in. at the lower end to about 1 in. at the upper end; the edges are strengthened by being bent into a shallow beading. The lower ends were attached to the shoulder of the vessel by two or three small-headed rivets immediately above the uppermost horizontal row of sub-conical-headed rivets; the upper ends were attached, apparently by a single rivet, to the under surface of the brim adjacent to the tubular beading.

The two ring-handles are about 3.3 in. in diameter, and have the peculiar section shown in fig. 2. They are attached by means of staples of cast bronze which are fixed to the upper surface of the brim. The body of each staple forms an arch standing on two foot-plates from the underside of each of which are two projections serving as rivets and cast in one piece with the staple. These 'rivets' pass through holes in the brim of the cauldron and are furnished with washers of sheet bronze; in two cases these washers are cut roughly circular, in two cases roughly square, and in two cases they consist of strips, each having two holes for the two rivets of one foot-plate. The arch of each staple has lateral flanges between which are two ribs, all projecting to an equal degree and at equal distances from one another (fig. 2). The end of the foot-plate that lies on the inner edge of the brim of the cauldron is in each case serrated by means of punch-marks.

The outer surface of the body of the vessel is blackened by fire which has to some extent checked the deposit of blue-green incrustation which is much more conspicuous on the inner surface. The outer surface was also much more muddy than the inner when first discovered, and the greater part of the basal plate had corroded away completely, while the brim shows less corrosion than any other part. These observations suggest the possibility that the cauldron may have been buried empty of soil, its mouth covered by one of the other sheets of bronze, thus protecting the brim from the percolating acids of the soil. These acids, however, once inside the vessel, would have accumulated in the base and hastened its corrosion.

2. Easily distinguishable from the fragments of the cauldron described above are some sheets of bronze from another source. Among these are five pieces from the basal plate of another and much larger cauldron. In all a length of 5 ft. of the curved upper edge of this plate is preserved, pierced with neatly drilled rivet-holes slightly over $\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart on the average, and with here and there a rivet still *in situ*. This last, together with the fact that the outer surface is blackened by fire, shows

that the plate is a product of the destruction of an old cauldron rather than an item intended for the construction of a new one. Judging from the curvature of the edge of this plate the cauldron from which it was derived must have had a diameter of some 30 in. at the level of this joint, which was well below the level of its maximum diameter. This plate is considerably thicker than those of the small cauldron first described.

Another piece of sheet bronze has formed part of a plate from the widest part of the body of a large cauldron.¹ It consists of a strip, 17 in. long and from 7·8 to 7·9 in. wide, the longer sides being not only parallel but straight, thus showing that the plate has not come from either above or below the widest part of the vessel, as in that case the edges would have been cut on a curve. Most of the rivets, which have sub-conical heads, are still in position along one edge, while the other, which must have been the lower edge, is bordered with rivet-holes at intervals averaging slightly over $\frac{1}{2}$ in. One original end of the strip is preserved, bordered with rivet-holes; the other end shows a roughly cut edge, not quite square, where pieces have no doubt been cut off for making patches, etc. The strip was found rolled up endways in the form of a scroll, the end with rivet-holes being innermost and the cut end outermost; no doubt its owner was in the habit of cutting pieces from this outer end whenever required, without having to unroll the whole piece.

An interesting example of an elaborate attempt to mend a crack in one of the plates of a cauldron is also included in the find, though there is no indication as to which cauldron it belonged to (fig. 4). The material used for the plates is tough and rather brittle, and a fine and inconspicuous crack had appeared at a point about an inch below the upper edge of the plate in question. A circular patch of sheet bronze, 1·5 in. in diameter, was applied to the outer face and clamped into position by means of two cast bronze rings, one inside and one outside, joined to one another by rivet-like projections from the outside ring. The rings are each of the same external diameter as the circular patch, and are semicircular in section so as to lie flat on the inner and outer faces of the cauldron; the outer ring has three rivet-like projections cast in one piece with it, and these pass in turn through the patch, the wall of the cauldron, and the inner ring.

3. The boss-shaped object (pl. xxi *b* and fig. 5) has been hammered out from a single sheet of bronze about $\frac{1}{32}$ in. in thickness. One side of this object preserves its original profile; on the other sides it is torn and buckled to a variable extent. From a basal flange with beaded edge it rises steeply at first to another bead, and thence more gently in a steepening cone to a height of 4 in. from the base. Here there are indications of an incipient outward turn, but at this point the apex of the object has been torn off.

I know of no parallel to this object, and cannot guess its purpose. There are no rivet-holes in the basal flange or elsewhere, so that it does not seem likely to have been applied to some other object as an ornamented boss. It is possibly to be compared with the 'breast discs' which accompanied the cauldrons in the Llynfawr hoard,² though these are only about half the diameter of the Sompting object.

¹ Or else from a cylindrical vessel, if such existed, made up of overlapping plates.

² *Arch. lxxi*, 135.

4. The hoard included seventeen socketed axes (pls. xx and xxi *a*). All have single loops and are rectangular or sub-rectangular in section, and they appear to have come from twelve moulds. Seven (nos. 1-7) are rough castings from three moulds, and in these the blade widens slightly to the cutting-edge, which is practically straight and very blunt. The remainder have undergone a variable amount of sharpening by hammering, and in each case this has resulted in considerable expansion of the edge, which has become more or less splayed and curved to an arc.

Nos. 1-4. Rough castings from the same mould. Horizontal raised band below collar from which on each face depend four narrow ribs terminating in pellets; in each space between the ribs is a dot in the centre of two concentric circles. No. 1, which is an imperfect casting, has an extensive incrustation of iron rust on one face, as if it had lain in contact with an iron object which has been corroded away; there

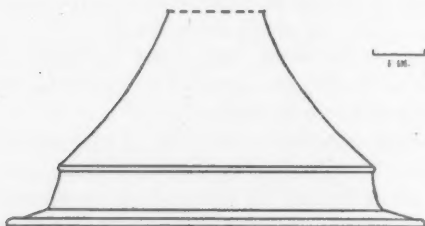


FIG. 5

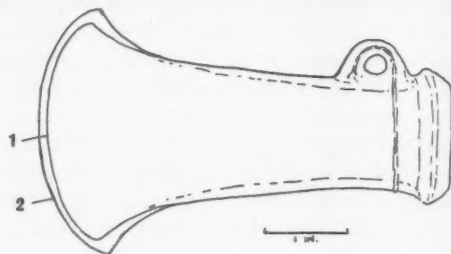


FIG. 6

FIG. 5. Boss-shaped object of bronze. ($\frac{1}{16}$)

FIG. 6. Outlines of axes nos. 11 and 12 superimposed to show different degrees of expansion of cutting edges caused by hammering, both axes being from the same mould (1, edge of no. 12; 2, edge of no. 11). ($\frac{1}{8}$)

is, I think, no likely natural source of iron in the soil sufficient to cause such incrustation, and the question arises as to whether it indicates the former presence of an iron implement contemporary with the hoard. Length of perfect specimens about 5.3 in.

Nos. 5 and 6. Rough castings from the same mould. Near each side on the upper part of each face are two almost parallel raised lines, slightly curved in imitation of wings. At the lower end of each pair of lines is a pellet, and between these, in the centre, but only on one face, is a circle. Length 4.25 in.

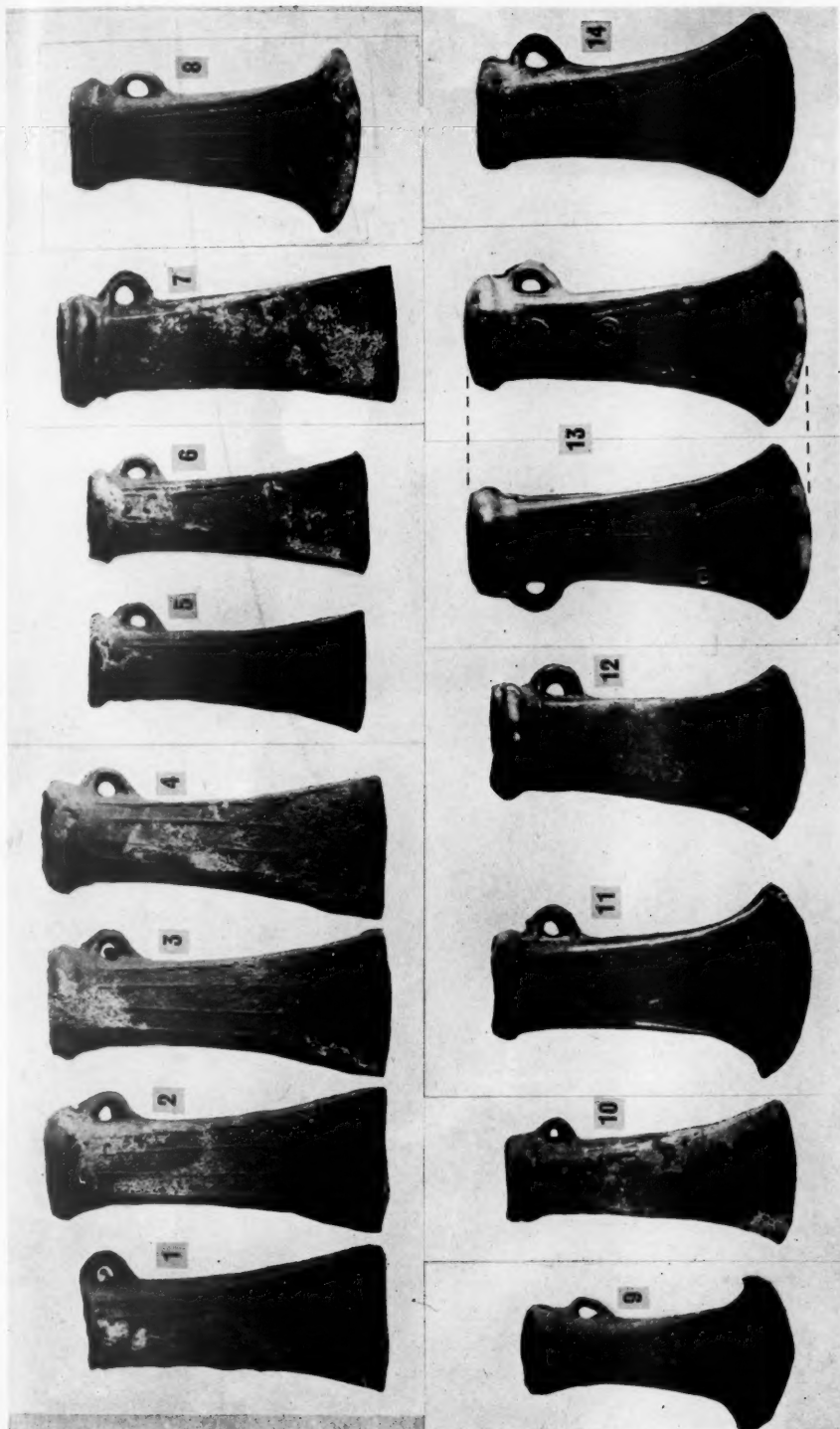
No. 7. Rough casting, undecorated except for raised horizontal band below collar. Length 5.25 in.

No. 8. Cutting-edge sharpened and flared by hammering. Three ribs on each side, pendent from raised band below collar. Length 4.25 in.

No. 9. Cutting-edge sharpened and widely flared by hammering, and points turned back and slightly flattened from side to side. Very faint ribs on each face. Length 4 in.

No. 10. Undecorated. Cutting-edge slightly hammered. Length 4.4 in.

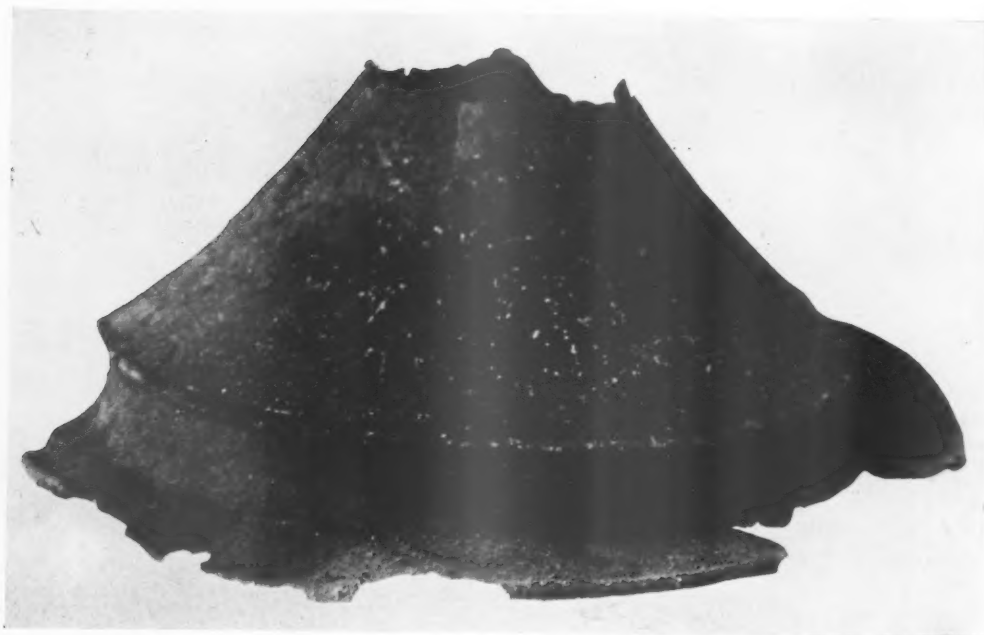
Nos. 11 and 12. From the same mould. The edges of both have been sharpened and flared by hammering, but that of no. 11 has undergone much more hammering than that of no. 12. The resulting difference in the degree of expansion is illustrated



Bronze axes from the Sompington hoard (3)



a. Bronze axes from the Sompting hoard (c. 3)



b. Boss-shaped object of bronze (c. 3)

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by fig. 6, where outline drawings of the two axes are superimposed. Not only is no. 11 0.1 in. longer than no. 12, but its edge is 0.3 in. wider. No. 11 has been heavily hammered on one face at one end of the cutting-edge, and on the other face at the opposite end, giving a slight skew to the edge. Lengths 5.0 and 4.9 in., respectively.

No. 13. Edge sharpened by hammering. Glossy patina which contrasts with the matt surfaces of the other axes except part of no. 12. Horizontal raised band below collar, below which is a pattern of three diverging pendent ribs ending in dot-and-circle devices, and overlaid in their upper part by two elements each consisting of a dot within two concentric circles. On one face the ribs diverge from the upper pair of concentric circles, and on the other face from the lower pair. Length 4.9 in.

No. 14. Undecorated. Cutting-edge sharpened and splayed by hammering. Length 4.65 in.

No. 15. Horizontal band below collar from which on each face depend five narrow ribs terminating in pellets. Edge sharpened by hammering. Length 5.15 in.

No. 16. Horizontal band below collar from which on each face depend five narrow ribs which fade out at their lower ends. Edge sharpened by hammering. Length 4.9 in.

No. 17. Undecorated. Edge sharpened by hammering. Dimensions similar to no. 10, but apparently not from the same mould. Length 4.5 in.

Nos. 1-12 have been presented by the landowner to the Worthing Museum; nos. 13 and 14 remain in the possession of Mr. Linfield; nos. 15-17 were unfortunately retained by one of the labourers and are now in private hands.

This collection of axes is noteworthy for the complete absence of palstaves of late type such as form the majority in other local hoards of apparently the same date.¹ Other features of this hoard are the preponderance of pendent rib decoration, and the rarity and stylized form of the wing-decoration.

CONCLUSIONS

The hoard evidently represents the stock of a bronze-smith, which includes several rough-castings of axes from the same moulds, as well as odd pieces of sheet bronze derived from worn-out cauldrons. The complete cauldron may have been likewise destined for scrap, or it is possible that it may have been temporarily in the possession of the bronze-smith for the purpose of repair.

A date in the second half of the Late Bronze Age (say 750-500 B.C.) is suggested for the hoard by the wing-decoration on two of the socketed axes, and this relatively late date would be in keeping with the developed character of the handle-fittings of the cauldron, according to Leeds's typology. The possibility of there having been a contemporary iron implement in the hoard has been mentioned when describing the axes.

Before concluding I must express my indebtedness to Mr. J. W. Brailsford for his help in examining the finds from this hoard, and in getting what restoration work was possible done at the British Museum.

¹ e.g. two hoards from Worthing listed in my *Arch. Sussex*, pp. 220-1.

VIEWS OF RICHMOND PALACE IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I

By M. R. TOYNBEE, Ph.D., F.S.A.

AMONG the numerous country palaces sold, desecrated, or destroyed after the execution of Charles I in 1649, the features of Greenwich, Richmond, and Nonsuch are perhaps the most familiar by reason of the various representations of them which have survived. Nevertheless, in spite of the complete dissimilarity of their appearance, views of Richmond and Nonsuch have more than once been mistaken for one another. The difference in design is well shown in the two somewhat archaic engravings of the palaces inset in the top corners of the map of Surrey in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611). Yet an oil-painting of Nonsuch, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and attributed to David Vinkeboons (1578-1629), was wrongly described as a view of Richmond (of which there is a companion painting in the Fitzwilliam) when it was engraved in 1765 and published in *Vetusta Monumenta* (ii, pl. xxiii) in 1789. Sir A. W. Clapham was the first correctly to identify the Nonsuch painting, which has also been called Theobalds Palace.¹

Another instance of this confusion (but the other way about) has recently been noticed by the present writer. On 6th December 1946 there was sold at Messrs. Christie's (lot 48) a painting attributed to the English School entitled 'Charles I and his Family at Nonsuch Palace on the River Fleet' which, as I shall show, in reality depicts Richmond Palace. This picture, a panel measuring $16\frac{1}{2} \times 24$ in., was the property of the late Lord Moyne, and was bought by the Arcade Gallery, 3 Royal Arcade, Old Bond Street, W. 1. By courtesy of the present owner it is here reproduced (pl. xxii b). It was subsequently shown under the same title at the Exhibition of Elizabethan Portraits held at the Arcade Gallery from March to April 1947 (no. 26). The present Lord Moyne can tell me nothing of its previous history beyond the fact that it was purchased by his father many years ago.

Comparison of this painting with three closely allied seventeenth-century representations of Richmond Palace proves conclusively that the Moyne-Arcade Gallery picture forms yet a fourth member of this group. The views in question are: (1) A pen-and-ink and sepia-wash drawing by Wenceslaus Hollar ($3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ in.) in the British Museum (pl. xxii a). (2) An oblong etching ($4\frac{5}{8} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ in.) by Hollar, signed and dated 1638 (pl. xxiii a). (3) A painting in oils on an oak panel ($12\frac{3}{4} \times 30\frac{3}{4}$ in.) which belongs to the Society of Antiquaries and hangs in the front hall at Burlington House (pl. xxiii b). This picture, which is reproduced by kind permission of the Society, was purchased by the late Mr. Aymer Vallence, F.S.A., at Bonham's sale-rooms in the spring of 1911, and was presented by him to the Society in 1934. When Mr. Vallence exhibited it to the Society in June 1911 he

¹ *Architectural Review*, Feb. 1911, pp. 63-7; greatly indebted to the Director of the Fitzwilliam also H. C. Andrews, *ibid.*, Mar. 1915, p. 59. I am Museum for these references.

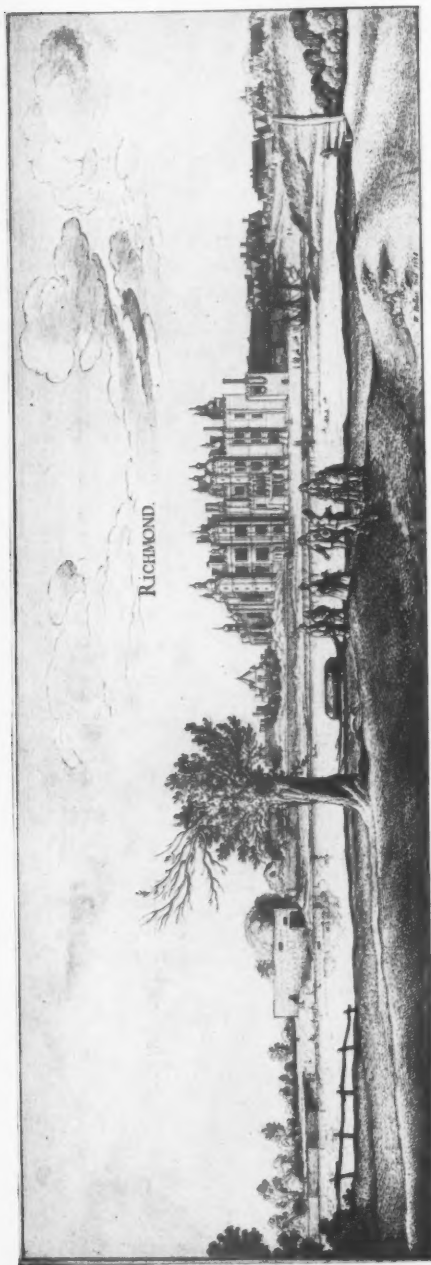


By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

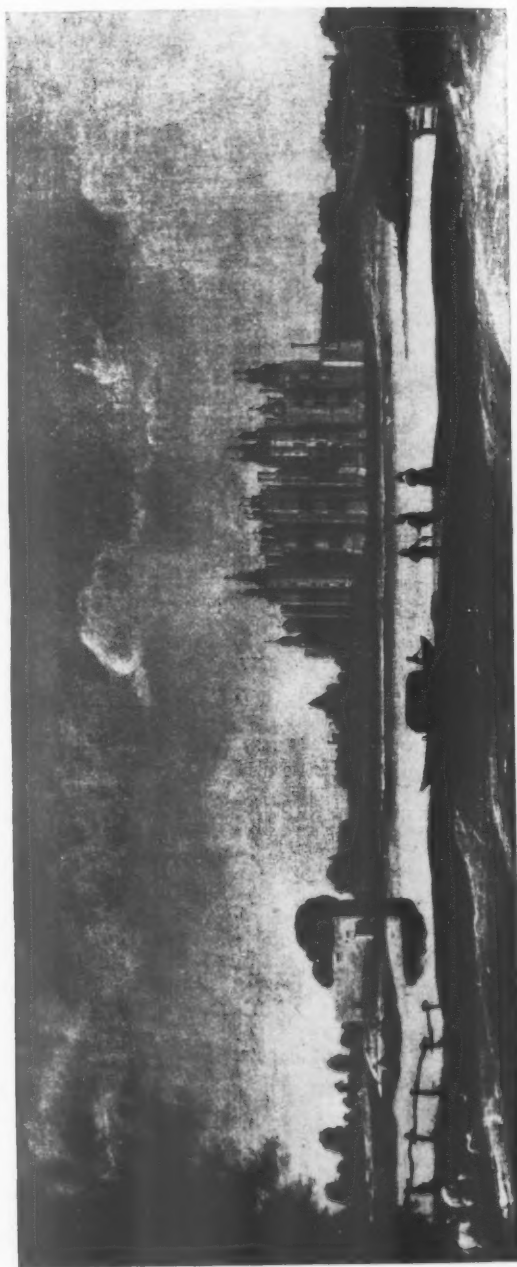
a. Drawing by Wenceslaus Hollar in the British Museum Print Room (1854-5-13-7)



b. 'The Moyne-Arcade gallery painting entitled 'Charles I and his family at Nonsuch Palace on the River Fleet'



a. Etching by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1638



b. Oil-painting in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries

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noted that the panel appeared to be a copy of Hollar's etching.¹ 'It contributes no new feature, but corresponds to the others [i.e. the two Hollars] in all respects except that the figures in all three versions are different—different that is in grouping and in numbers, though the costume appears to be approximately of one date.' (1) does not extend nearly so far on either side as do (2) and (3), and there are minor variations of detail in the three versions.

The Moyne-Arcade Gallery painting seems to be a rather crude copy in oils of the central portion of (2). The 'forest of ogee-capped turrets and pinnacles', as they are called by Mr. Edward Croft Murray, F.S.A., in his article on 'The Landscape Background in Rubens's *St. George and the Dragon*', published in *The Burlington Magazine* for April 1947, are very uncertainly portrayed. The nine figures more or less exactly correspond. But the inscription in the top left-hand corner of the painting, 'Charles I and his Family', is erroneous. The group really represents Charles, prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II), and his younger brother James, duke of York, accompanied by a party of attendants. All the figures in the group, except the taller boy, dressed in a yellow suit and wearing the Garter ribbon, to the right (Charles), and the smaller boy, in silvery-grey 'coats', to the left (James), are bareheaded. Mr. A. M. Hind was, I feel sure, mistaken in stating when discussing Hollar's etching² that 'from the position of the group and the size of the figures, it is most likely that Prince Charles is shown in the taller of the two boys to the right of the group, and his younger brother, James Duke of York, the smaller boy in the hat. The little girl [*sic*] further back might be Princess Mary.' In 1638 Charles and James were respectively only eight and five years old, which would correspond well with the apparent ages of the little boys shown in the etching and painting, and Charles alone had the Garter. The country establishment of the royal children was at Richmond Palace, and the boys have obviously crossed the river in their barge (which in Hollar's etching shows the Prince of Wales's Feathers on the canopy in three places) to take a walk on the Twickenham bank of the Thames. A somewhat similar scene is depicted in the painting by Adriaen Staelbent (?) at Buckingham Palace in which Charles I, Henrietta Maria, and the infant Prince Charles are seen walking in Greenwich Park surrounded by a body of courtiers. Royal 'conversation-pieces' are, indeed, quite a feature of this reign.

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, xxiii (1909-11), p. 518. I am much indebted to Mr. Philip Corder for this reference.

² *Wenceslaus Hollar and His Views of London and Westminster in the Seventeenth Century*, 1922, p. 82.

NOTES

A Romano-British phallic carving from Broadway, Worcs.—The following note is by Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A.:—The small carving here published was discovered in the summer of 1945, in the excavations conducted by Miss C. N. S. Smith on a Romano-British occupation site at Broadway Gravel-pit, lying at about 250 ft. O.D. on a level expanse of gravel $\frac{1}{4}$ -mile below Broadway village, Worcestershire (National Grid ref. 42/0938). The main occupation was of the first and second centuries, perhaps from about A.D. 60 to the years around 150, and the carving was found associated with pottery of this latter date, lying on a roughly paved surface which overlay a ditch containing pottery datable about twenty-five years earlier. Thus unless it was more than some 50 years old when lost, it belongs to the first half of the second century. Most of what follows here has appeared also in Miss Smith's excavation report in the *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society* for 1946 (1947), 57–74 (66–71, with pl. 1, 2), to which further reference should be made for the site in general. The carving was submitted by her for examination at the British Museum, and I am grateful to her for allowing me to keep it for further study after I left the Museum's service in 1946. It will be preserved hereafter in Worcester Museum together with the other material from the site.

The carving (pl. xxiv, e, f) is made of a bar of the local oolitic limestone, whitish-buff in colour. Its lower portion is missing, what remains having been broken off irregularly, leaving a maximum length of 3.3 in. The cross-section close above this break is subrectangular, measuring 1.45 by 1.4 in. The front has for the most part been ground to a certain degree of smoothness, but much less grinding is apparent on the back and sides, which have in the main been shaped roughly by the hammer alone. At 1 in. from the top, the back and sides are expanded into an uneven but well-marked ridge running round them horizontally, giving a more or less oval cross-section of 1.7 by 1.45 in. Above this, the top is finished off in a rather flattened half-egg shape, the whole having the form of a phallus with projecting glans. On the front, however, where the ridge demarcating the glans is absent, there is carved the crude representation of a human face, with nose formed by a blunt-ended and straight-sided vertical rib, 0.6 by 0.2 in., with its greatest projection, near the top, of about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. Close on either side of it are the eyes, circular holes made with the drill, each 0.2 in. in diameter, the left about $\frac{1}{8}$ in., the right $\frac{1}{8}$ in. deep. About $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below the nose and somewhat displaced towards the right (i.e. in photograph, the left) is the mouth, roughly marked by a shallow horizontal incision of vaguely elliptical shape, 0.4 in. long and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, deepest towards each end.

The general form is thus that of a phallus with a face. The execution of the face, crude as it is, cannot be called inferior without exception to the district's known Romano-British sculpture in relief. Similar drill-hole eyes and rudimentary other features can be seen in the Chedworth Museum, e.g. on the altar-reliefs of Mars Olludius (?) and Sucellus from Chedworth or the Hercules (?) panel from Lemington,¹ and little of the other local sculpture figured by Mrs. Clifford in the same paper² is much nearer to elegant convention. However, it is presumably a sign of romanization to go in for relief-sculpture at all. And since, crude or not, phallic representations are so familiarly Roman, the Broadway carving might seem best explained likewise, as a local result of wholly Roman influence. But in fact it differs from the ordinary run of phallic emblems, so common everywhere in the Roman world as talismans against the Evil Eye. This can easily be seen by reference to H. Herter's article 'Phallus' in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, xix, 2, cols. 1681 ff. (based on his larger work *De Priapo*, Heidelberg, 1931). In Greek or

¹ *Trans. Bristol & Glos. Arch. Soc.* lx (1938), 301–3 and pls. v–vii.

² *Ibid.* 300 ff. and pls. i–xvi: e.g. the man-and-woman relief at Lypiatt Park, Stroud (pl. xv).

Roman art the phallus is indeed sometimes 'demonized' by the addition to it of bird's or animal's limbs (cols. 1723-7), or of human limbs, or by placing it instead of the head upon a human body (cols. 1727-8); but the portrayal of a human face on the phallus itself occurs extremely seldom (col. 1728), and then in forms quite unlike the Broadway carving: e.g. an Italiot-Greek vase in the Musée Vivenel at Compiègne¹ is a 'tumbler' shaped as a phallus turned downwards, with the glans as its rounded base, while the face is on one side, towards its rim. The form of our carving, with the glans of the phallus turned upwards, as a rounded top which is also the head of the face-figure, seems without parallel in classical art. Moreover, the execution of the carving is so homely and 'barbaric' that, when considered together with this absence of satisfactory Roman prototypes, it inevitably suggests an explanation in terms of native Celtic religion. Can not the figure be a product of native British tradition, acted upon indeed by romanization, but older, and with its own deeper roots amongst a local Cotswold population?

Certainly, phallic symbolism is seldom obvious in the repertory of pre-Roman Celtic art in general. In the Rhineland, indeed, there are the monumental phalloid stones of Pfalzfeld in the Hunsrück and of Ihrlich in the Neuwied basin, which are Early La Tène Celtic work. But, as Jacobsthal has shown,² the influence responsible for them is Etruscan: influence, that is, from the Mediterranean south, and beyond it from the Oriental home of the Etruscans in Asia Minor, lands immemorially associated with fertility-religion—ultimately the same, of course, that lies behind the phallic symbolism of the Greeks and Romans. This Etruscan influence will likewise explain the phallic human figure among the Veneto-Celtic rock-carvings of the Val Camonica in the Rhaetian Alps.³ By contrast, where the religious iconography of the Celts was altogether Celtic, it remained generally 'decent'.⁴ In Britain, the phallus-bearing figure on the Farley Heath sceptre-binding is no doubt a Celtic divinity; but since he is Roman in date, he cannot prove native Celtic phallicism.⁵

However, there may have been more in Celtic religion than usually meets the eye in Celtic art. The foundations of the higher European cultures were laid much earlier, in Neolithic times. And both the south-eastern and Danubian cultures of Neolithic Europe, and equally the western, brought in with them something of the fertility-religion of their Oriental or East-Mediterranean lands of origin. Here in the west, then, religion current in Celtic and in Roman times may quite well contain elements that go back 1,500 or 2,000 years to the Neolithic colonists; especially, perhaps, to the western megalith-builders. Neolithic fertility-religion in Britain is indeed attested by phalli, which, in carved chalk or bone, have been found at Windmill Hill, The Trundle, Grime's Graves, and the Thickthorn long barrow. And tall standing stones, male symbols no less, are not only associated with megalithic tombs, but may also, whether as menhirs or as features of sacred circle-monuments, have long been venerated in the ensuing Bronze Age. Perhaps then it is no accident that in the Celtic Iron Age phallic stones should appear in our corner of Europe also—stylized but unmistakable. For as Celts in La Tène times came westward, they might well find local tradition ready to respond to what they themselves had newly received, in middle Europe, of the phallic symbolism of the Etruscans. Thus analogues to the monumental Rhineland phalli occur in Ireland, as in the great carved glans-shaped stones of Turoe and Castlestrange,⁶ and also in Brittany, where the carved stone of Kermaria,⁷ recalling both these and the

¹ *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, iii, pl. 18, 20 (detail, pl. 30, 1).

² P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art* (Oxford, 1944), Text, 8-10, 165-6, nos. 11, 12; pls. 9-12, 218.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, 2-3; pl. 217, a.

⁴ *Ibid.*: if the Niederschönhausen fibula, Jacobsthal's no. 308 (Text, 193-4; pl. 157), perhaps shows an ithyphallic figure, this is an isolated case, and

one within the range of the same southern influence.

⁵ *Antiq. Journ.* xviii, 391 ff.; pl. LXXVII, no. 8.

⁶ Françoise Henry, *Irish Art* (1940), 2-5, with pl. 2 (where a, 'St. Goar', is in fact the Pfalzheim stone, which till 1934 was kept at St. Goar. It is now in the Provinzialmuseum collections at Bonn).

⁷ *Op. cit.* 3; Déchelette, *Manuel* (2nd ed.), iv, 1029, fig. 700, 2 (cf. 1, the Turoe stone); P. Du

Rhineland stone of Pfalzheim, is only the most imposing of the various 'lechs' and baetyls which are associated locally with Celtic Iron Age burials.¹

Now in Britain the nearest analogue to these Brittany baetyls comes from the Cotswold region; in fact, from only eighteen miles south-west of Broadway. This is the carved stone found in 1933 at Barnwood near Gloucester, published by Reginald Smith² and subsequently given by Mrs. E. M. Clifford to the British Museum. Restoration of its missing portions, carried out since then, has shown its flat base to be oval in plan and not circular as at first thought. But it remains none the less evidently glans-shaped and so phallic: it is in fact a miniature, oval-based and slightly pointed at the top but altogether similar in general, of the type of the Turoe stone.³ It was 3.6 in. high and 4 in. in maximum diameter; and the designs carved on it well display the style of the later pre-Roman Iron Age. The practice of making such phallic baetyls may have been brought into the Cotswold region by 'Iron Age B' immigrants from the direction of Brittany. But in any case the region is, of course, like Brittany and like Ireland too, an ancient home of megalithic cult. That is attested by its famous chambered long barrows; and on general grounds it seems quite possible that an element of old fertility-religion may have survived here from their day. If so, the survival would give a particular local context, as in Brittany and Ireland, for phallic symbolism in later times. However that may be, the Barnwood stone shows that this symbolism was at any rate current in the region in the latter part of the Iron Age, directly before the Roman conquest. And after that, Roman influence would be hardly likely to do away with it, though it might well lead it into new or altered forms. Whether or no a persisting sanctity in the Roman period can be argued for Cotswold long barrows, from the traces of visiting and disturbance in that period which some have yielded,⁴ we can at least point to the strange Romano-British Cotswold custom of burying one or more small stone altars in round barrows, as at Tidenham and Bisley Common,⁵ as perhaps representing Iron Age baetyl-burial in a romanized mode. A place in the same local cycle of ideas may then be tentatively suggested for the Broadway phallus.

Dr. F. M. Heichelheim, in his article of 1935 entitled 'Genii Cucullati',⁶ drew fresh attention to the divinity or triad of divinities, often dwarfish, represented in Romano-Celtic sculpture

Chatellier, *Les Époques préhistoriques dans le Finistère*, 322, pl. xxx: the stone is now, with all the Du Chatellier collection, in the National Museum at St. Germain. It is 87 cm. high.

¹ L. Marsille in *Bull. soc. polymathique du Morbihan*, 1912, and 'L'Âge du fer dans le Morbihan', *ibid.* 1923. See also *Antiq. Journ.* xiv, 61, for one from Kerhilio, Erdeven (Morbihan), found 'in La Tène surroundings' by Zacharie Le Rouzic. For baetyls also in Portugal, see E. Cartailhac, *Les Âges préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal*, 136.

² *Antiq. Journ.* xiv, 59-61.

³ A fragment of what Smith believed might be another, about 3.6 in. in diameter, was found in 1937 at Little Witcombe, close to Barnwood, in a group of relics now in Mrs. Clifford's possession and kindly shown to me by her, from an apparently ancient bog-deposit, containing, as Mrs. E. M. Megaw has been good enough to report, fen or forest peat: these comprise worked flints and quartzite pebbles, animal bones and teeth, two pieces of human skull with incised markings, and two flat

sherds of hard, brownish, pitted coarse pottery, seemingly not older than the Iron Age. The fragment is of conglomerate, and might be from a rotary quern, but the diameter seems curiously small.

⁴ Mrs. Clifford has kindly supplied the following references: O. G. S. Crawford, *The Long Barrows of the Cotswolds*, 69 (Belas Knap); 85 (Bown Hill); 104 (Uley: including secondary burial; cf. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv (1938), 192, n. 1); 131 (Randwick); 142, and *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* vi (1940), 136 (Rodmarton); *ibid.* iv (1938), 192 (Nympsfield); *Archaeologia*, lxxxvi (1936), 123, 149-50 (Notgrove); *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* v (1875), 145 (Cow Common).

⁵ And conceivably also at King's Stanley, Bisley Church, Kingsholm, and Cirencester: see Mrs. Clifford in *Trans. Bristol & Glos. Arch. Soc.* lx (1939), 297-307.

⁶ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., xii (1935), 187-94. I am much indebted to Dr. Heichelheim for examining the Broadway carving with me in the British Museum in 1946, and for his opinions expressed in subsequent correspondence.



a



b



c



d

a, b. Glaston, Rutland; *c, d.* Howletts, Kent. Side and upper views (1)



e



f

e, f. Broadway, Worcs. Romano-British phallic carving (1)

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wearing a conically hooded cloak or *cucullus*. He suggested that while perhaps influenced by conceptions from Greek-Oriental mystery-cults, and certainly affected by syncretism with the Roman *penates*, the type was essentially a native Celtic one. Of such *genii cucullati*, grouped in characteristically Celtic fashion as a triad, four sculptured representations are known in Britain. Of the three found in the north, that from Netherby¹ showed the cloaked figures holding each² an egg-like attribute; a number of the small *cucullus*-wearing figures found in the continental Celtic provinces are actually themselves phallic,³ and this egg-like object may thus suggest the Celtic glans-shaped or phallic baetyls above discussed. The fourth of the British sculptures comes from Cirencester, the Romano-British capital of the Cotswold country.⁴ It is crudely executed in local oolitic limestone.

Our Broadway figure is a smaller and still cruder example of the same kind of local stone-carving in the service of local religion. The phallic element therein which it represents seems likely, from the considerations here advanced, to be something of Celtic and perhaps much older native origin. If the phallic stone of prehistoric fertility-religion could give place under Roman influence to a dwarfish type of deity-figure in a conically hooded cloak, the *genius cucullatus*, it cannot surprise us that a denizen of this rustic site at Broadway should venerate—no doubt, as with the Roman *penates*, for the welfare of his household and storeroom—a deity-figure and phallus combined together in one simple little idol.

And another one, not quite so simple nor so little but obviously a similar combination, has been pointed out to me since this note was first written. Mr. Trelawney Dayrell Reed, walking with me and Col. Drew round the Dorset County Museum at Dorchester, made me look again at the stone published here in 1936 from Eype, near Bridport, which has now passed to the Museum from the Mrs. Cranko who was then its owner (*Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 323, with pl. LIX, 2). It bears a carved face like that of the Camerton stone published the same year (*ibid.* 206), and Reginald Smith (unmistakably the author of the terse, unsigned note describing it) recognized it as 'evidently a late Roman ex-voto', comparable, with its 'Tau-like features', to those of the Forest of Halatte in the Oise department of northern France (Espérandieu, v, 132-7). Below the face begins a vertical chain of interlaced carved circles, and the stone has been chipped laterally into a waisted peg-shape. Above the chipping, the smooth curve of its top stands up as an egg-like protuberance, a glans, on the front of which is carved the face. I am grateful to Mr. Dayrell Reed, and he is right: it is a face-phallus figure no less certainly than is this from Broadway; and the whole interpretation here advanced is thus directly strengthened.

That Roman Britain also knew a fertility-god of giant type, who by Roman interpretation was Hercules, few will dispute who have ever seen the Cerne Abbas Giant, or read about it and the now vanished hill figures of Wandlebury and Plymouth Hoe.⁵ But this is a matter in which small things have their significance as well as big ones.

A Late British Brooch from Glaston, Rutland.—Mr. E. T. Leeds contributes the following note:—A recent discovery by a workman in a sandpit at Glaston, 2½ miles east of Uppingham, Rutland, adds a fine example of an unusual type (pl. xxiv, a-b, and fig. 1) to the repertoire of native brooches associated with Anglo-Saxon finds. It was delivered to Mr. J. L. Barber, who now has charge of the collections in Oakham School Museum, along with an iron knife, some

¹ *Op. cit.* 188, no. 3 (now lost).

² Certainly two: the right hand of the third had apparently been broken off.

³ *Op. cit.* 191-3, nos. 14-16, and the Gallo-Roman hooded-dwarf phallic lamp-figures, nos. 19-28.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 188, no. 4.

⁵ W. M. Flinders Petrie in *The Hill-Figures of England* (1926), with *Antiquity*, iii (1929), 277 ff. (O. G. S. Crawford); vi (1932), 214-16 (Stuart Piggott); on Wandlebury and in general also, F. M. Heichelheim in *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Proc.* xxvii (1937), 53-9—pages which might well be better known.

iron fittings, and a small penannular bronze brooch. All the objects were reported to have been found within an area of quite small compass, suggesting that they constituted the furniture of a single grave, an hypothesis quite consistent with the nature of the finds. Mr. Barber confirms this opinion, in spite of the absence of any skeletal remains. Their absence may well be due to burial in a sandy deposit, as experienced by the late Mr. F. G. Gurney in his exploration of graves at Leighton Buzzard where no more than a shadow-outline of the corpse could be detected.



FIG. 1. Glaston,
Rutland. (†)

The brooch is in the main of bronze with a dull patina; of the pin and coil of iron only rusty remains of the coil are preserved. The brooch measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length (with the loop) and $1\frac{1}{16}$ in. in height. The bow is lofty, and its upper face may be described as composed of five sections, three square decorated panels and two plain keeled sections. The panels are engraved with triple-ringed bull's-eye circlets within a square frame-line border. The inner end of the foot is formed of another such square panel separated from the front end of the bow by two engraved lines; this panel masks the short pin-catch. Beyond it the foot becomes narrower and thinner, tapering slightly until it turns up sharply to terminate in a small disc set at right angles to the plane of the bow. At the back of the bow is a flat, ribbed loop, which has been secured by a pin riveted through the bow in such a way as to leave it movable, a fact confirmed by the present twisted position of the loop. The loop holds a small ring to which again is attached a narrow looped shackle with two tiny rivets securing remains of a narrow strap of brown material (leather?).

This piece, unusual though it is, is not the first example of the type that has come to light; three others are known. In 1923 Sir Cyril Fox published a specimen from West Stow, Suffolk, in the collections of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge.¹ It is simpler in make than the Glaston brooch; the bow is also keeled but narrower and the panels are less sharply defined, the decoration being confined to bundles of transversal lines. The foot, similarly decorated, tapers to a conoid finial, but the upturned end has been flattened out of shape. The ring at the back of the bow, here set on a flat stool, has been cast along with, and in the same plane as, the rest of the brooch and was, therefore, immovable, though it must have served the same purpose. Again only oxydized remains of the spring-coil are present, the pin having entirely perished.

The third example (pl. xxiv, c-d) belongs to the Ralph collection of Anglo-Saxon relics in a rich grave-group from a cemetery at Howletts, Kent.² In detail it closely resembles that from West Stow, and like that piece is a little larger than the Glaston brooch. The upturned end of the foot is well preserved and shows what the original form of the West Stow specimen must have been.

The West Stow cemetery has, however, apparently provided evidence of a movable ring. In his *Collectanea Antiqua* (vol. ii, 167, pl. xli B, fig. 3) Roach Smith figures a brooch in all respects comparable with the others from the same site, except that it lacks its ring. Alongside the figure is a small sketch (fig. 2) which evidently illustrates an upper view of the part of the bow nearest to the spring-coil; on it there is clearly indicated a perforation for a pin to attach the ring to the brooch.³

¹ *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, 281, pl. xxxv, 4.

² Now in the British Museum.

³ This piece is recorded (*loc. cit.*) as belonging to the collection of Mr. Samuel Gwilt, and on the

same plate are figured other objects which are now in the Moyes' Hall Museum at Bury St. Edmunds, but according to Mr. H. J. M. Maltby, Curator of the Museum, the brooch is not in the museum.

These four brooches, all clearly of one type, at once raise two questions: (i) What is their date? and (ii) Who made them?

(i) As to the first, the only partially confirmed association at Glaston gives little help beyond the fact that the small penannular brooch has a long ancestry reaching back to the Early Iron Age and so is to be regarded as a survival of a native type in Anglo-Saxon times. The records of the contents of the richly furnished grave 4 at Howletts is more illuminating. The grave yielded besides the brooch figured above two radiate brooches with semi-circular head-plates, the one with round knobs and lozenge-shaped foot, the other with discoid, garnet-filled knobs each surmounted by a smaller knob and with straight-sided foot decorated with zig-zag ornaments, both with ring-niello on the bow. Next come two simple, silver cloison brooches, the one circular with a four-spoked division round a central cloison hub, the other kidney-shaped with triple garnet cloisons divided by two bars set in a V springing from the notch in the kidney-frame. In addition there is a pair of earrings with polyhedral garnet-filled knobs and a long bronze pin with a polyhedral head, and finally a gold ring, its bezel set with a Roman intaglio and framed by two strands of filigree each protracted at an opposing end into a spiral coil. Apart from the brooch under discussion the contents of the grave form a homogeneous group of jewellery in Frankish style belonging to the first half of the sixth century, not necessarily all of one date, since the radiate brooch with straight-sided foot is probably later than the rest. The earrings and pin with polyhedral knobs, though common in continental Frankish graves, are rare in England. Briefly the general composition of the jewellery suggests an owner closely associated with the earliest influx of the Frankish element into Kent about A.D. 500.

On the basis of this evidence it may be justifiable to read something into the Glaston group, since, as is known, the penannular brooch is a native form adopted and later modified by the combined invading and native community, and the Glaston specimen is of the narrow form with recurved terminals which has the longest ancestry.

The new brooch-type must then fall at any rate within the early sixth century, but may well be earlier and exotic among the rest of the Howletts jewellery.¹

(ii) In general appearance the form vividly recalls some Italian Iron Age examples of the Certosa fibulae of the fifth century B.C.,² but that impression is ruled out by the use of an iron pin. For, though even in Britain iron La Tène fibulae are known, the combination of bronze with an iron pin seems to be unknown as late as Roman times. In Anglo-Saxon brooches bronze for the pin and spring is rare; iron is quite normal. Even many of the simplest penannular brooches are wholly of the latter metal. The new Glaston brooch must, as Sir Cyril Fox maintained in regard to the West Stow example, be regarded as very late Romano-British or Early Anglo-Saxon. Certain features may decide the point.

In the first place the type falls very close to the earliest cruciform brooches, like those from Dorchester Dykes,³ Abingdon 122,⁴ and Nassington,⁵ in which there is as yet no sign of a zoomorphic finial on the foot.

¹ Sir Cyril Fox confidently assigns it to the fifth century.

² Cf. O. Montelius, *Civ. prim. en Italie*, i, ser. A, pl. xi, 142 and 146.

³ *Antiq. Journ.* xiii, 240, pl. xxxiii a; Åberg, fig. 12.

⁴ *Oxoniensia*, vii, 102, pl. viii A.

⁵ *Antiq. Journ.* xxiii, 107 and 117; pl. xxv a.

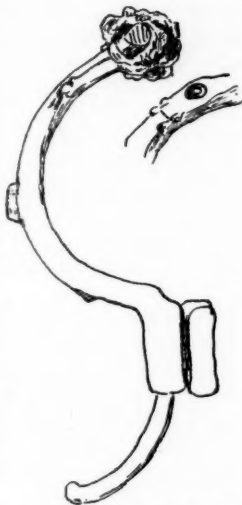


FIG. 2. West Stow, Suffolk after *Collectanea Antiqua*. (f)

Secondly, bull's-eye circle ornament on fibulae has a long history in northern Europe. Possibly inherited from the first-century *Augenfibel*, it occurs at later stages and on various types,¹ until it reaches a form like that illustrated by Shetelig in his *Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, fig. 23, as a Scandinavian derivative from the Roman cross-bow fibula with its strongly keeled bow that seems to have influenced the prototypes of the cruciform brooch. This influence begins with examples assignable to the same stage as Dorchester, etc., for example, from Jaederen, Norway, and Borgstedt, Schleswig-Holstein,² and continuing with greater frequency in the stage equivalent to Åberg's group I in the English series, as on Shetelig, figs. 23, 35-6, 39, 41, 43, and 54 in the Norwegian series. Later the use of this decoration appears to die out in England, only persisting in group II as at Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham, and St. John's College, Cambridge,³

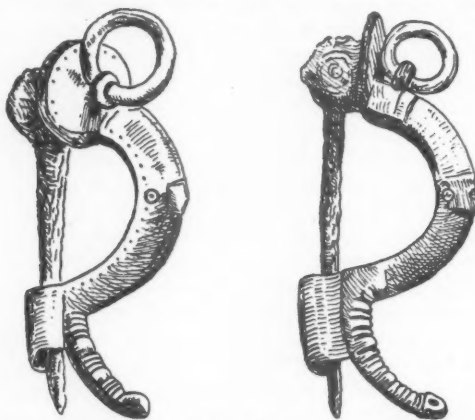


FIG. 3. Cys-la-Commune, Dept. Aisne. (†) (After F. Moreau, *Album Caranda*, pl. 103, n.s., no. 7.)

yet still able to survive in the eastern counties in group III at Holywell Row 22 and Bury St. Edmunds.⁴ It is, of course, also a common decoration of disc and annular brooches, which being native in origin can have derived it from their own Roman tradition.

There, is therefore, no reason to regard this specialized brooch-form as having been introduced by the invaders; it is a native product influenced perhaps by the earliest Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch and decorated in a style inherited by invader and Briton alike from a common source.

The mere fact that the Glaston brooch has formed one of a pair is a further argument in support of this view. From pre-Saxon days in Britain looped brooches are a common feature, as amply demonstrated by R. G. Collingwood.⁵ In contrast, Almgren⁶ figures no evidence from northern Europe for the practice of adding a loop to link a pair together. If the practice ever existed, it cannot have been common.

It is of interest to consider the purposes of these linked brooches. No evidence is available from Roman times in Britain, though an example is afforded by a pair of enamelled dragonesque S-brooches complete with their guard-chain from Faversham, Kent, figured by Baron J. de Baye.⁷

¹ See A. Plettke, *Die Urnenfriedhöfe in Niedersachsen*, pl. 1, 2, 7 and 10.

² Shetelig, *op. cit.*, figs. 20-1.

³ N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England*, group II, 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, group III, 81.

⁵ *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, figs. 61-3;

see also British Museum, *Guide to Roman Britain*, 53-4, figs. 60-3.

⁶ *Nordeuropäische Fibelformen der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte*.

⁷ *The Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, 44, fig. 9.

The Glaston brooch was also one of such a pair, but how it was worn is not known. Fortunately an explanation is provided by pairs of pins with round, jewelled heads from Anglo-Saxon graves of a later date at Roundway Down, Wilts.,¹ and Cow Low, Derbyshire,² in both cases complete with their guard-chains. In the former case no details of position are recorded, but at Cow Low they are described as having lain near the neck, the elements of a necklace having been deposited in a casket elsewhere in the grave. Mr. F. T. Gurney in a letter about his discoveries at Leighton Buzzard, Beds., subsequent to those recorded by him in four articles in the *Leighton Buzzard Observer* of 13, 20, 27 August and 3 September, 1935, sent the writer an account of a grave in which the corpse had a necklace of silver wire rings. Crossing the necklace was a pair of pins like those mentioned above and joined by a twisted thread. These pins were placed in a vertical position, one on each side of the breast, perforating the dress at points below the necklace.

It may fairly be concluded that they served to hold together the ends of a head-cloth or veil, and—to judge from the rich quality of the pins—not merely for purposes of interment, but in the manner in which they had been worn in life. The brooches may well have been worn in the same position and for the same purpose.

I am greatly indebted to our Fellows, Mr. R. L. Bruce-Mitford and Mr. T. C. Lethbridge, for their helpful replies to queries about the Howletts and West Stow pieces; also to Miss Helen Gibson for undertaking the drawings.

Since the above went to press yet another example of this distinctive brooch has come to my notice. It was discovered in a grave at Cys-la-Commune, Dept. Aisne (fig. 3).³ It has many points of resemblance to the Glaston piece, but as figured by Moreau it has an oval head-plate masking the spring-coil. Unfortunately no details of associated objects are recorded, but in view of what has been written above, Moreau's remarks may be appositely quoted: 'Élégante fibule (bronze et fer) qu'on est étonné de rencontrer dans une sépulture mérovingienne, car sa forme est caractéristique de l'époque gauloise.'⁴ Was the first example of this type suggested by a chance find of a La Tène I fibula, or was it a case of folk-memory?

Miscellaneous Small Objects from the Roman Fort at Malton.—Mr. Philip Corder contributes the following notes:—Excavations at the Roman fort at Malton, E. Yorks., were carried out between 1927 and 1930 under the direction of the late John L. Kirk, F.S.A. An account of the defences and of the North-east Gate was published in 1930,⁵ with a coin-list and as much of the pottery evidence as was necessary to establish in outline the history of this previously neglected fort. It was then hoped to publish the small finds in a subsequent volume as the work was carried further. Dr. Kirk's continued ill health, which removed him from active field-work, led to the postponement and ultimate abandonment of this project. The objects found during the excavations at Malton and at numerous other sites in the neighbourhood⁶ form the Roman Malton Museum. Several of the small objects are of unusual interest and are here illustrated with brief notes.

1. *Miniature figure of a bear*, carved in jet, 0.9 in. long, 0.7 in. high, and 0.45 in. wide (pl. xxvi c, and pl. xxv a). The quality of the animal is vigorously and effectively rendered by the

¹ Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, 129, fig. 3.

² T. Bateman, *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, 93-4; Leeds, *loc. cit.*

³ F. Moreau, *Album Caranda*, pl. 103 nouv. sér. and fig. on page facing; *Petit Album Caranda*, pl. xxxv, 6.

⁴ The two drawings both appear in *Album*

Caranda and are clearly, from the text, different interpretations of the same brooch.

⁵ Corder, *The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton*, Roman Malton and District Report No. 2.

⁶ The Langton villa, the Crambeck and Knapton potteries, and local finds at Norton, Settrington, etc., together with earlier finds from Malton itself.

relatively large drooping head and the high humped shoulders, which are its characteristic. The fore-legs are not carved separately but are divided by a drilled hole; the hind-legs are now partly missing, but must have been separately carved, for the drill used on the fore-legs evidently passed between them. The object should probably be looked upon as a child's plaything rather than a bead. It was found with the skeleton of an infant in trial trench I near the North-east Gate on 20th August 1929, together with a highly polished circular jet bead, 0.8 in. in diam. (pl. xxvi d), a small plain bronze bangle, and a base denarius, identified by Mr. H. Mattingly, F.S.A., as 'apparently of the last years of Caracalla'¹ (c. A.D. 215-18). These objects had undoubtedly been

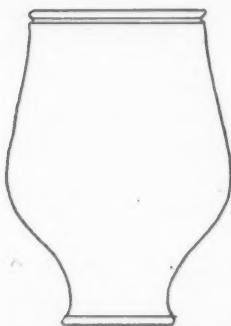


FIG. 1. Castor beaker from York. (4)

buried with the infant. The date of the coin cannot be taken as evidence for the date of burial, for the majority of the thirty-two infant burials found during the excavations, that could be dated, were of the fourth century, c. A.D. 300-69.² Five more were found at the neighbouring villa at Langton and were probably of the same period.³ None of these thirty-seven burials was in a pottery container.

A parallel to this find is provided by the little jet bear found in Bootham, York, on 28th October 1845 during excavations connected with the York-Scarborough Railway. This was accompanied by a segmental jet bead with two perforations from a necklace or bracelet, and a small bronze follis of Constantine I (*Cohen* 536), bearing the London mint-mark and to be dated c. A.D. 312-15 (pl. xxvi e, f, and pl. xxv b). These were contained in a small red Castor beaker 3.7 in. high (fig. 1). The group was purchased by Thomas Bateman⁴ and now forms part of the Bateman Collection in the City Museum, Sheffield.⁵ The date of c. A.D. 320 which may be assigned to this group is confirmed by the type of container.

Except in size and material there is no marked similarity between these tiny jet figures. The York specimen was described as a bead by Mr. T. N. Brushfield in his communication of the find to the British Archaeological Association,⁶ but the four legs of the figure rest on a platform as if it were intended to stand, and I should prefer to describe it also as a child's plaything. I expect, could the truth now be known, that the beaker contained the bones of an infant, easily to be overlooked by the workmen who discovered it over a century ago in one of the known Roman cemeteries of York.⁷

Representations of bears are not common in Romano-British art, but attention may be called to the figure of a bear scratched on the base of a pot dredged up by the Cardiff trawler *Muroto* in 1934 150 miles off the west coast of Ireland. This bore the graffito C PISCI FAGI (the property of Gaius Piscus Fagus), and has been assigned, on somewhat slender evidence, to the second century A.D.⁸ I am indebted to Dr. Wilfrid Jackson, F.S.A., for some interesting notes on the occurrence of the brown bear in Roman Britain, and it seems certain that the craftsmen who fashioned our little jet figures had ample opportunity of working from the life.

Two further parallels may be cited from the Rhineland, one from Köln⁹ (pl. xxv d), the other

¹ Corder, *op. cit.*, p. 89, no. 39 (351).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 51, 67.

³ Corder and Kirk, *A Roman Villa at Langton*, p. 67.

⁴ *Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities and Miscellaneous Objects preserved in the Museum of Thomas Bateman Esq.*, 1855, 64 P, p. 128; 125 P, p. 150.

⁵ I am much indebted to Mr. J. W. Baggeley,

Director of Sheffield City Museums, for the photographs (pl. xxvi e, f, and pl. xxv b) and for permission to publish them, and to Mr. R. H. Hayes for pl. xxvi c, d.

⁶ *J.B.A.A.* viii (1853), 160.

⁷ *Arch. Journ.* ciii. 76.

⁸ *J.R.S.* xxiv, 220-1; *Proc. R. Irish Acad.* li, Sect. C, no. 3, 65-7, pl. vi.

⁹ Wallraf-Richartz Mus. 427: *Bonner Jahr-*

from grave 87, St. Matthias, Trier¹ (pl. xxv c), found with a jet finger-ring of type A 1.² The profile of the former more closely approaches that of the Malton bear than do either of the other examples, but both the Rhineland examples stand on flat platforms like the York bear and were clearly intended to stand by themselves. The suggestion has been made that they possibly formed the heads of hairpins, were ornaments attached to rings or bangles, or hung as pendants.³ This seems to me to be a mistaken view, for the Trier specimen was found in a grave, accompanied by another jet object, as were ours from Malton and York, a fact that suggests that it also was a toy or mascot.

Petrological examination has established the fact that the source of the jet used for multifarious Rhineland jet objects was the Whitby area of Yorkshire.⁴ It is a safe assumption that the Malton and York bears are to be assigned to a Yorkshire workshop, in all probability in York itself, where jet-working is known to have been practised in the late Roman period.⁵ No unfinished jet objects, trial pieces, or wasters have yet come to light in the Rhineland.⁶ It seems probable therefore that the two examples of this uncommon class of miniature jet figure found at Köln and Trier, closely resembling as they do our Yorkshire examples, were also products of the York jet industry. This impression is strengthened when comparison is made between other classes of jet object, e.g. the jet medallions found at York and in the Rhineland.⁷ Such comparisons suggest that, when the York material has received the detailed study it deserves, it may prove possible to assert with confidence that the York workshops were the origin of most of the Rhineland jet objects.

2. *The Malton Brooch* (fig. 2). This peculiar brooch was found in 1928 or 1929 during the excavation of the north-east corner of the fort. No record of its stratification has been found among Dr. Kirk's notes, and I am inclined to think that it was unstratified.

It is made of bronze, originally gilt, and has a triple bow, only the central member of which is really functional. This is a slender plain bow, tapering to a straight end which projects beyond the edge of the catchplate and terminates in a collar and small knob. The curved part of the bow is of flat triangular section. The catchplate, now bent and damaged, is cast with the bow and appears to have been unpierced. The head of the bow is flattened, turned over, and welded to hold the bar, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, on which the spring of eight coils is wound, the chord being held in position by being looped beneath the bow. The two side members of the triple bow are shaped like the central one, except that each of their ends is flattened to form a circular pierced disc, the upper attached to the ends of the bar holding the spring, and the lower to a pin passing through the catchplate. They are prevented from slipping off this pin by a pair of small knobs. It may be supposed that similar knobs once secured them to the head-bar also, for their hold on this seems now precarious, but in the present state of the brooch evidence for this is lacking. If the two side members had any functional purpose, it will have been to prevent the brooch from wobbling.

I know of no parallel to this extraordinary brooch. Our late Director, Reginald Smith, who

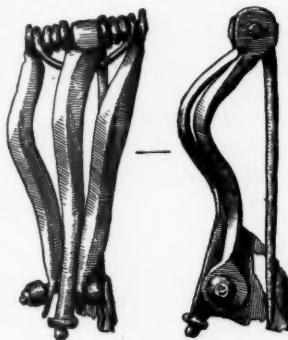


FIG. 2. The Malton brooch. (1)

bücher, Heft cxlii (1937), Taf. 29, Abb. 1, J2, 1, and p. 139.

¹ Landesmuseum 05, 431g; *Bonner Jahrb.*, loc. cit., J2, 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵ Dr. Richmond has called my attention to the

evidence for this found during the railway excavations of 1873, *A Handbook to the Antiquities in the Grounds and Museum of the Yorkshire Phil. Soc.* (8th edn. 1891), p. 127; *Arch. Journ.* ciii, 79.

⁶ *Bonner Jahrb.*, loc. cit., p. 85.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, Taf. 30, and Home, *Roman York*, facing p. 176.

saw it shortly after its discovery, was at first inclined to consider it as a makeshift made from two brooches, but this opinion he eventually modified.

3. *Phallic amulet or phalera*, consisting of a circular bone disc cut from the base of a red deer antler, the natural protuberances being left to form a frilled border (pl. xxvi a). The object is 3 in. wide and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in depth. On the front a phallus is carved in relief. Two circular holes, $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter, have been drilled through the upper part of the disc. These show little wear at the front, but at the back the edge of each hole is worn away obliquely in such a manner as to suggest that the object was worn suspended on the breast by cords passing round the wearer's neck. The only published British parallel of which I am aware was found in pit LIX at Newstead.¹ It is slightly smaller than our example and is without holes or other indications of how it was worn. Its associations are with first-century pottery. A similar object from Novaesium² is $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter and has four bronze studs passing through it from front to back, suggesting attachment to wood or leather, the domed heads of the studs projecting from the front. In an unpublished example from Dorchester, in the Dorset County Museum, the phallus has been carved from the body of the horn and projects boldly from the plane of the disc, in which are no less than seven holes.

4. *Anglo-Saxon small long brooch* (pl. xxvi b), found on the latest occupation level in an area in the north-east corner of the fort, excavated under the writer's supervision by boys from Bootham School, York. It is the only Saxon object found during the whole period of the excavations, which extended, though on a modest scale, over three years, and produced a great mass of finds.

This brooch belongs to a well-known class of small long brooches with trefoil head.³ Its good proportions, triangular foot, ridged bow, sharply defined mouldings, and excellent workmanship place it early in its class. It can be closely paralleled from Brough (Crococolana), Notts.,⁴ and Kempston, Beds.⁵ It cannot have been made long after A.D. 500.

5. *Circular studs of bronze*, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter (pl. xxv e). The objects are made in two parts: first, a stoutish stud, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, with central tang, 0.2 in. long, and, second, mounted upon this, a very thin circular plate of tinned bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. The plate is embossed and treated as a medallion with plain round border, ribbed at the inner edge. This contains, not centrally, but slightly to left, the head and draped neck of a young man facing right. His hair is elaborately dressed in a series of four rolls. The right of the field is occupied by a frond, probably a palm-branch, damaged in all three examples. Two of the tangs, which are well preserved, exhibit a slight turn-over at the ends, as if they had been riveted into wood or leather, and, unless the thin plates were stiffened by some other material not now preserved, leather is the more likely. Mountings for a belt or harness are thus perhaps indicated. These thin plates have all been stamped from the same matrix. Mr. John Allan, F.S.A., who has kindly examined them at the British Museum, tells me that, though he detects a resemblance to the Emperor Geta, this is not his head nor that of any other emperor.

They were found trodden into the top surface of the sandy rampart in trench 5 to the north of the North-east Gate.⁶ They were probably lost early in the third century, when the rampart was raised by the deposition upon it of earth containing much debris of the Trajanic destruction.⁷ This accords with a date c. A.D. 225 assigned to them on stylistic grounds by Mr. Allan.⁸

¹ *Newstead*, pl. LXXXIV, 14 and p. 314.

² *Bonner Jahrb.*, Heft cxi-cxii, Taf. xxxv, fig. 30.

³ *Leeds, Arch.* xci, fig. 4, class a, and distribution map, fig. 6.

⁴ *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 203.

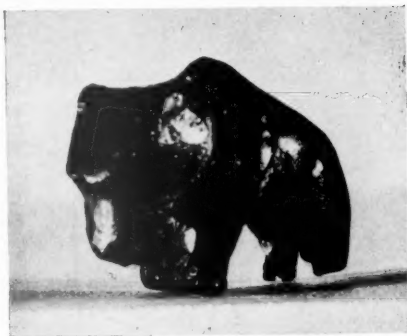
⁵ *V.C.H. Beds.* i, pl. opp. 180; *B.M.A.-S. Guide*, fig. 82 b.

⁶ *Corder, op. cit.*, 40. The find-spot is indicated

in the section of trench 5 in fig. 49.

⁷ *Ibid.* 37, 40.

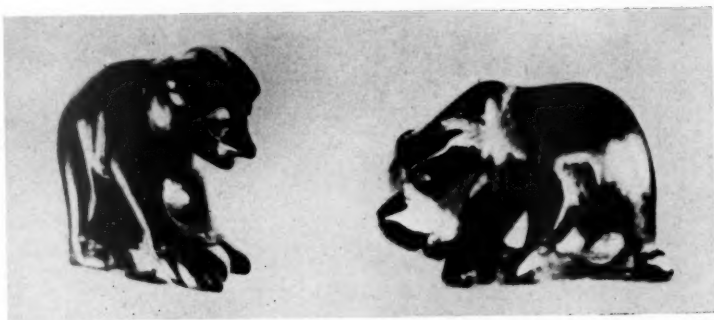
⁸ Since this note was written, Mr. D. M. Waterman has called my attention to four similar embossed studs in the Yorkshire Museum, all of which were found at Malton in the 19th century. They have been stamped from three different matrices, none exactly like that here described.



a. Malton

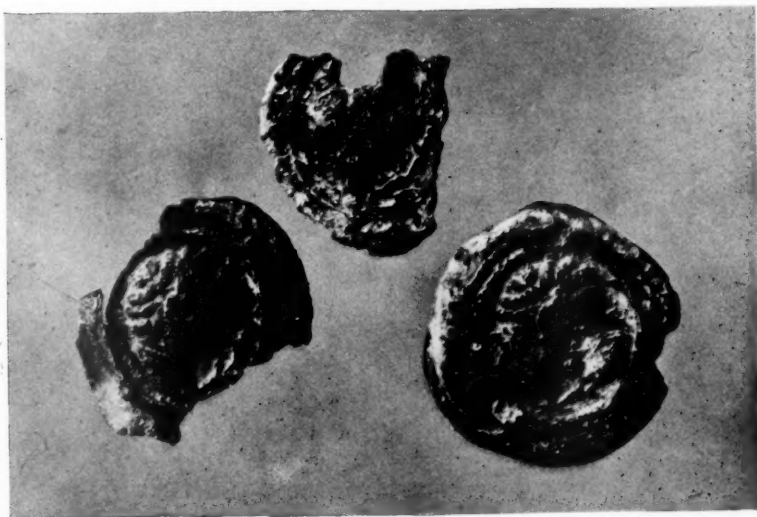


b. York



c. Trier

d. Köln



e

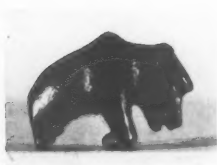
a-d. Miniature jet figures of bears (c and d after *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 142, Taf. 29, Abb. 1). e. Embossed bronze studs from Malton (all $\frac{2}{3}$)



a. Phallic amulet from Malton ($\frac{1}{2}$)



b. Anglo-Saxon brooch from Malton ($\frac{1}{2}$)



c



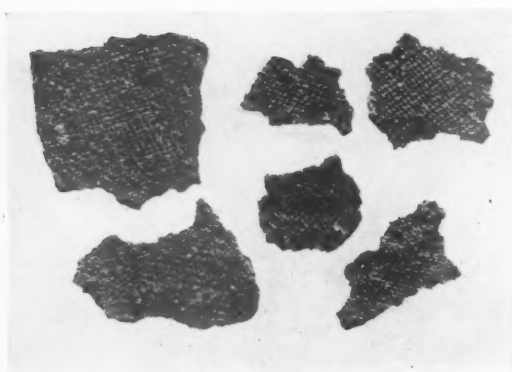
d



e

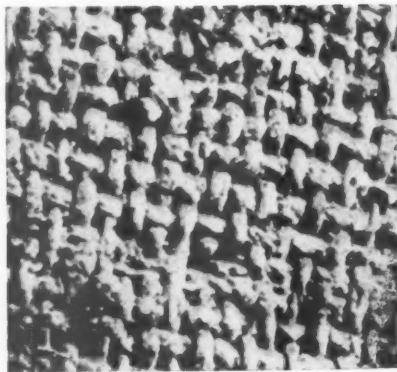
f

Objects of jet. *c, d* from Malton ($\frac{1}{2}$); *e, f* from York ($\frac{1}{2}$)



g

g. Impression of textile fabric from inhumation grave, Malton ($\frac{1}{2}$)



h

h. Portion of same, enlarged ($\frac{9}{8}$)

6. *Spade-iron* (fig. 3). The best-preserved example known to me in Britain. The half-oval wooden blade to which it was originally attached was only $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the top and probably not more than 7 in. long. No nails or rivets had been used to attach the iron sheath, but the sides of this are grooved to enclose both edges of the blade for a length of some 5 in. At the point where these grooves end the sheath widens outwards and downwards to a width of 7 in. to form a curved cutting-edge. Contrary to the usual practice, there is no groove in the sheath to receive the lower edge of the wooden blade.

The closest parallel known to me for this form of spade-iron is the long-bladed shovel from Braughing in the Letchworth Museum,¹ which employs exactly the same method of attachment and has a curved cutting-edge wider than the blade. The tiny spade from Runcton Holme² is of the same general form, but is more rounded, while the odd spade from Tiddington in New Place Museum, Stratford-on-Avon,³ while it employs the same method of enclosing the edges of the blade in grooves along the side of the sheath, has a much shallower cutting-edge and is roughly rectangular in shape.

7. *Impressions of textile*. Due east of the North-east Gate of the fort, and beyond the second great ditch, one of our trial trenches cut into the edge of one of the extra-mural cemeteries, close to the cutting of the Thirsk-Malton Railway.⁴ At a depth of 5 ft. a perfect extended skeleton of a woman, about 35 years of age, was found with head lying north-north-west. Some nails, gypsum, and traces of wood indicated that burial had been in a coffin. A coin of Constans (Cohen 176) (A.D. 337-40) was found 9 in. above the skeleton, the only other object associated with the burial being a plain ring of shale behind the skull, which had no doubt served to confine the hair.

Among the gypsum fragments beneath the bones were several that bore traces of the material resembling a linen fabric in which the body had been wrapped (pl.xxvi g, h). The filling of coffins with liquefied gypsum was commonly practised in the third- and fourth-century inhumations in York.⁵ The resulting moulds in gypsum of five bodies are preserved in the Yorkshire Museum, and in several instances the impression of the fabric of which the shroud was formed has also survived. One of these is said to be of a texture like velvet or plush,⁶ another being linen resembling our Malton fabric.⁷ It is interesting to be able to record that a similar burial custom was practised at Malton.

A Mithraic Brooch in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.—Mr. M. J. Vermaseren contributes the following note:—During a recent visit of mine to the Department of Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum the Keeper kindly drew my attention to an engraved circular bronze brooch (pl. xxvii a), diameter 0.07 m., bearing a Mithraic representation, which is of interest not only in itself but also because it is the first such representation known on a brooch. The brooch is also of some importance from the technical point of view, in that the engraver's work upon it would

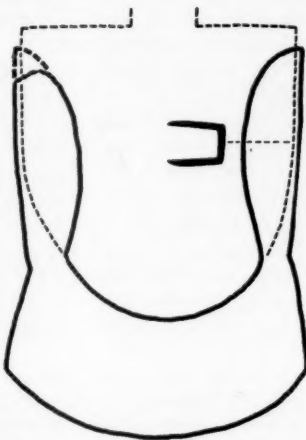


FIG. 3. Roman spade-iron from Malton. ($\frac{1}{4}$)

¹ *Arch. Journ.* c, 227, fig. 2, 7.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 2, 6; *P.P.S.E.A.* vii, 258, fig. 52.

³ *Arch. Journ.* c, fig. 2, 8.

⁴ *Malton*, 26.

⁵ Dr. Richmond, in discussing this, has recently

recorded the fact that supplies of this mineral are available at Hiliam, near Fryston (*Arch. Journ.* ciii, 79), which is only 20 miles from York.

⁶ *Handbook to York Museum*, 1891, 110.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64, no. 65.

seem to be unfinished: most of the figure of Mithras and the animals in the field are all properly chased, whereas the bull, and Mithras' face, nimbus, and sword are only sketchily incised. Mr. H. Maryon of the British Museum laboratory, who has kindly examined the brooch, confirms this.

The brooch is a thin, slightly convex disc of bronze, and the reverse is plain, except for a hinged pin and catch-plate. It was found at Ostia in 1899 and came to the Museum with the Sir John Evans collection in 1927. No details of its finding are preserved, but the fact that it comes from Ostia provides further testimony to the great popularity Mithras-worship enjoyed at this Roman harbour-town.¹

The scene is the usual one of Mithras slaying the bull, but has some unusual features. The god, in oriental dress, and with a nimbus and wreath of nine rays,² kneels in the normal manner on the bull, which bears two bands³ round its body and has a tail ending in a single tuft.⁴ It is noteworthy that the god is not represented at the moment of thrusting the dagger into the bull's body, but with his weapon raised after the stroke.⁵ The wound is clearly visible and the dog stands by with open mouth to lick the blood. The snake creeps over the ground and the scorpion clasps the testicles. The raven, at which Mithras is looking, sits on the god's billowing cloak. The busts of Sol and Luna are omitted, obviously for want of space; and, perhaps for the same reason, two birds take the place of the two torchbearers; one, a cock, stands facing the bull's mouth, the other, a smaller bird, perches on the victim's tail. The cock, which by its crowing⁶ chases away evil beasts⁷ and announces the rising of the sun,⁸ is often represented⁹ in the Mithraea,

¹ No less than 14 Mithraea have been found at Ostia (F. Cumont, *C.R.A.I.* 1945, 411 ff.). For Mithraic monuments from the town see *id.*, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels, 1896-9, cited as *MMM.*) and the smaller edition of the same work with addenda, *Die Mysterien des Mithra* (3rd ed., Leipzig, Berlin, 1923), of which an English translation from the 2nd French edition by T. J. McCormack was published in 1903. For other recent finds cf. L. Paschetto, 'Ostia Colonia Romana', *Atti Acc. Pont. Arch.* x (1912), 384 ff. (= *Bilychnis*, i (1912), 463 ff.). An up-to-date list is forthcoming shortly in a *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* by M. J. Vermaseren.

² Sol is often represented on monuments to Mithras and other deities with a nimbus and wreath of 7 rays (e.g. Malakhbel-Cumont, *Syria* (1928), 103; hence the epithet *ἐπτάκτις*) but he also appears with one of 6, 9, or 12 rays (cf. *MMM.* i, 123, notes 5-7 and 193, note 3). Representations of Mithras himself with nimbus and wreath are fewer but occur with 5 rays on a gem (*MMM.* ii, 447, no. 1, fig. 393), with 6 rays on reliefs from Pisignano (P. Ducati in *Felix Ravenna*, v (1912), 191 ff., pl. 15) and Macerata (C. Hülsen in *Rhein. Mus.* 1904, 153 and A. Greifenhagen in *Arch. Anz.* 1933, 443 f., fig. 24), and with 9 rays on a fresco from the Casa di Tito at Rome (G. Turnbull, *Treatise of Ancient Painting* (London, 1740), pl. 9, and Reinach, *Rép. peint.* 29, 2).

³ Generally, especially on the Danube reliefs,

the bull bears one band (e.g. *MMM.* ii, nos. 14, 106, 139, 158, 163, 191-3, figs. 24, 99, 129, 143, 146, 166-9, etc.).

⁴ The bull's tail normally has 3 tufts, more rarely 5 or 1. For other examples of a single tuft cf. *MMM.* ii, no. 16, fig. 26; Saxl, *Mithras*, fig. 85, 90; A. M. Colini in *B.C.R.* lix (1931), 123 ff.; A. W. Van Buren, *Ancient Rome as revealed by Recent Discoveries* (London, 1936), p. 143 and pl. 8, fig. 2; and C. Pietrangeli in *B.C.R.* 1940, 166, no. 1, fig. 13.

⁵ A Mithras group signed by the Athenian sculptor Kritoon (who seems to have lived in the first half of the 2nd cent. A.D.), found at Ostia in 1938, shows the same victorious attitude (cf. Calza, *Le Arti*, xvii (1939), 389; *B.C.R.* 1938, 307; Van Buren in *A.J.A.* 1939, 513, fig. 5; A. Becatti in *Rivista dell' Ist. Arch. Storia dell' Arte*, vii, 88, fig. 59; H. Fuhrmann in *Arch. Anz.* 1940, 128 ff., fig. 17; Cumont, *C.R.A.I.* 1945, 412, fig. 2). Compare also a monument from Kerch, *MMM.* ii, no. 5, fig. 17, the remarkable monument from Isbarta (Cumont, *C.R.A.I.*, 1947, 303 ff. with fig. 1), and a small marble relief from the Balkans (height 0.20 m., length 0.26 m.) formerly in the Froehner collection and since 1926 in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, but on this one the dagger remains in the wound.

⁶ Cf. *MMM.* ii, no. 54, fig. 51.

⁷ Cf. Bidez-Cumont, *Les Mages helléniques*, ii, 75, n. 11.

⁸ Pausanias, v, 25, 9.

⁹ Cf. *MMM.* i, 210; *id.* ii, nos. 21 b, 44, 84 d, and 295 b, figs. 33, 48, and 347 at Ostia.



a. Mithraic brooch from Ostia in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1)



b. Bronze Viking drinking-horn mount from Fetter Lane, London (1)



a. Silver pin from Sawdon, N.R. Yorks ($\frac{1}{2}$)
with details of head ($\frac{2}{3}$)
(Yorkshire Museum)



b. Silver pin from Ash, Kent ($\frac{1}{2}$) with
details of head ($\frac{2}{3}$)
(Ashmolean Museum)



c. Bronze bracelet from Normanton, Wilts. ($\frac{1}{2}$)



d. Bronze bracelet from Bridlington, Yorks. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

especially in connexion with Cautes, the torchbearer with raised torch. Moreover, in the Mithraic cult the cock is a sacrificial animal¹ and also plays a part in the initiation rites.² If, therefore, in this example we identify the cock as representing the rising light, we may assume that the other bird represents the waning light, a part belonging especially to the nightingale in antiquity. This bird, which is widespread in southern Europe, and which sings in spring during the evening and night, is the subject of various Greek mythological stories,³ all of which have one common factor, namely, a mother (Aedon, Procne, Philomela) who has killed her son and, changed into a bird, voices her sorrow by plaintive songs. Besides, in classical poetry the nightingale is often depicted as mourning in the darkness on a branch,⁴ so that it is not surprising to find it as a symbol for waning light in contrast to the cock on this Mithraic brooch.⁵

A Bronze Viking Drinking-horn Mount from Fetter Lane, London.—Mr. Adrian Oswald, F.S.A., contributes the following:—The object figured (pl. xxvii b) is described in the Guildhall Museum Catalogue of 1908 as a spear-shaft socket or butt of the Bronze Age. It was found in Fetter Lane in 1897. It is of bronze with a massive spherical knob at the base, to which is attached a tapering hollow socket, with an incised groove at its upper end, where there are two small holes for a rivet. Its overall length is 8.5 cm., diameter of knob 3.3 cm., and diameter of mouth 1.7 cm. There can be little doubt that this object is a terminal mount of a Viking drinking-horn and consequently deserves special notice among the small group of Viking antiquities from London. From Norway there are several close parallels: from Gjonnes, parish of Hedrum, there is a very similar one for shape, 6.5 cm. long; from Huseby, parish of Borseskogn, a smaller one with two rivet-holes; in all from Norway twelve, mostly from women's graves of the ninth century.⁶ In the British Isles I have been able to trace two only: one of silver gilt from a grave in Westray, ornamented, and of the characteristic shape but smaller in size,⁷ the other in bronze from a grave from Ardvonrig, Barra.⁸

An Early Bronze Age Bracelet from Bridlington, Yorkshire.—Mr. D. M. Waterman sends the following note:—The bronze bracelet here illustrated (pl. xxviii d and fig. 1) forms part of the Boynton collection of antiquities now preserved in the Yorkshire Museum, York, and was found, according to the original label attached to the object, at Bridlington Quay in 1891. The bracelet is formed of a penannular strip of bronze 2.1 cm. wide, with a diameter of 7 cm. The external circumference is ornamented with an incised metopic arrangement of ansate-ended panels, filled with opposed oblique lines.

¹ For example, in a fresco in the new Mithraeum of St. Prisca in Rome, A. Ferrua in *B.C.R.* 1940, 59 ff., fig. 9.

² Cf. *MMM.* i, 69, note 2.

³ Cf. P.-W. s.vv. 'lusciniā', 'Philomela'; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. 'Aedon', 'Philomela'; O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* (Leipzig, 1913), i, 73; G. Schmidt, *De lusciniā quae apud Homerum, Sophoclem, Aristophanem est* (St. Petersburg, 1904). The nightingale's sleeplessness is also attributed to her sadness (cf. Hesychius, s.v. ἀηδόνηος and Aelian, *Varia Hist.* xii, 20). This explains the reason for Varro's etymology (*De Lingua Latina*, v, 76) 'lusciniola, quod luctuose canere existimatur', though some modern scholars prefer to derive it from *lusciniā*, 'singing during the twilight', cf. A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*

(3rd. ed., ed. J. B. Hofmann, 1938), i, s.v. 'lusciniā'.

⁴ Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* iv, 514 f.:

flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
integrat et maestis late loca questibus implet.

The same idea occurs in later poets.

⁵ On Mithras reliefs the raven also occurs in the same attitude on the bull's tail (e.g. *MMM.* ii, no. 79, fig. 67); and another small bird (perhaps a nightingale) on a relief from Rome (Mus. Torlonia; *MMM.* ii, no. 8, fig. 20).

⁶ H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities in Gt. Britain and Ireland*, pt. v, pp. 169-72, fig. 136 b and p. 11.

⁷ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* x, p. 573, figs. 1 and 2.

⁸ H. Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. ii, p. 72 f.

Two other bracelets of this type are known, one associated with an A-beaker from a pit burial at Knipton, Leicestershire (*Antiq. Journ.* xv, 60) (fig. 2), the second found on the arm of a skeleton in a barrow at Normanton, Wiltshire (*Archaeologia*, xliii, 469). The only available illustration of the Normanton bracelet (*ibid.*, fig. 172; reproduced in Evans, *Bronze*, fig. 480) is unsatisfactory, and by kind permission of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, in whose museum at Devizes



FIG. 1. Pattern on the bracelet from Bridlington. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

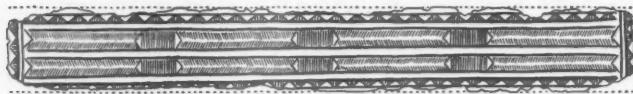


FIG. 2. Pattern on the bracelet from Knipton. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

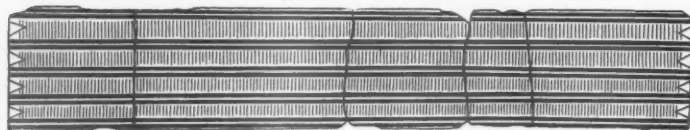


FIG. 3. Pattern on the bracelet from Normanton. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

the bracelet is now preserved, I am permitted to republish it here (pl. xxviii c and fig. 3). It is of strip bronze, 3.7 cm. wide, of penannular form, and according to the original illustration appears to have been found with terminals overlapping. As now restored, the ends butt together to give a slightly oval shape, 6.9 cm. at greatest diameter. The ornament consists of four zones of vertical incisions, with ansate terminals, separated by pairs of deeper grooves, which also form a border to the whole design.

I have to thank Mr. C. W. Pugh, M.B.E., for kindly making the Normanton bracelet available for study, and Professor Stuart Piggott for undertaking the initial arrangements on my behalf.

Viking Antiquities from Sawdon, N.R. Yorks.—Mr. D. M. Waterman contributes the following:—The collection of local antiquities made by the late Henry Seaton Harland, F.S.A., of Sawdon Park, near Brompton, N.R. Yorks., was presented to the Yorkshire Museum, York, on his death in 1921, and recently his nephew, Mr. Neville Harland, has kindly added a number of objects which had been retained at the time of the original bequest. The collection now includes two objects of Viking date which form the subject of this note. There is no evidence to suggest that they were found in association.

1. Silver pin, 7.0 cm. long, with heavy globular head, 1.3 cm. diameter, beneath which is a loop (pl. xxviii a). The decoration of the head is in two zones, separated by a raised moulding at the greatest diameter. Each zone contains five bosses of slight projection, outlined in filigree, with two further bosses, similarly edged, at crown and base, the latter distorted by the insertion of the head of the stem. Between the bosses are raised nipples, of which those adjacent to the central moulding are also edged with filigree work. The head was evidently made in two half-balls, with

slight flanges, which when butted together were secured with solder. The bosses, nipples, and filigree having been similarly fixed, the head was mercury gilded.¹

The closest parallel known to the writer is provided by a silver pin with loop from Gilton Sandpit, near Ash, Kent, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Accession no. 1942.216), which I am allowed to publish by kind permission of the Visitors (pl. xxviii b). The length is 7.4 cm., and diameter of head 1.1 cm. The decoration is again in two zones, separated by a central moulding, each containing three trefoils with central raised dot, set within circles, executed in filigree, with raised dots, also outlined in filigree, between.



FIG. 1. Details of the head of a silver pin from Ballinaby, Islay. (†)
(National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh)

In both cases these pins appear as isolated finds, but a comparable example, somewhat larger, and lacking the circular head-loop, was found in a woman's grave at Ballinaby, Islay, associated with material that included two bronze tortoise brooches.² The head (fig. 1) is again in two zones, with filigree ornament; there are five scrolls, two pairs of reversing spirals, and a single spiral. The end of the stem has been drawn out, bent back to form a loop, and brought down to where the thinning commences, where it is wound once round the stem. A small ring of silver wire is attached to the loop.

The occurrence of pins of this type in northern Europe is, so far as a fairly extensive search can show, extremely limited, and confined to two, with filigree-ornamented head but lacking the loop, from Dorestad, the old Frisian trading-centre on the junction of the Lek and Kromme Rhine, south of Utrecht.³ Activity here is considered to have begun not earlier than the second

¹ For an opinion on the constructional technique involved I am indebted to Mr. Herbert Maryon.

² *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, Part II, 37, fig. 18. The pin is now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, and through

the kindness of the Keeper, Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, who has supplied me with full particulars, I am permitted to republish it here.

³ *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, Leiden, 1930, N.R. xi, 83, Afb. 64, 4-5.

quarter of the eighth century, and is known to have been terminated by a disastrous flood in 864.¹ At the same time, the evidence afforded by the constituents of the well-known hoards of silver from northern Europe cannot be ignored. These hoards cover a period of some three hundred years, and differ in type, the oldest being ascribed to the ninth century. The second, covering the tenth century, are in many ways the most important: these hoards, unlike the first group, rarely include gold objects, but on the other hand are rich in Sassanid and western European silver coins. Of these hoards, e.g. the Terslev hoard,² several have produced beads with filigree ornament, sometimes singly, sometimes serving as spacers on silver chains or necklaces, which provide close connexions for our filigree-headed pins. Such beads in gold³ and silver⁴

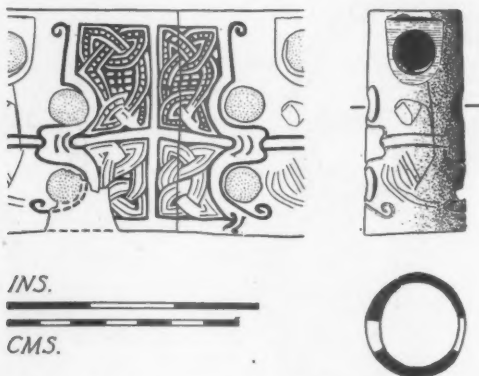


FIG. 2. Tubular bone object from Sawdon, N.R. Yorks ($\frac{1}{2}$)

first appear in Sweden (predominantly in Gotland) in the ninth century; in Denmark the coin evidence serves to date the hoards containing these beads substantially to the second half of the tenth century;⁵ a single example⁶ is known from a hoard of ninth-century date, while the changing fashions of the eleventh century produced another type to replace them in the hoards. Such beads are not unknown in this country; a single example is known from a grave at Saffron Walden, Essex,⁷ associated with two bronze pendants, one of which is elaborately decorated in a style related to that of the many silver pendants from Terslev and other Scandinavian hoards. Thus, although the Dorestad examples indicate a date for the filigree-ornamented pins in the first half of the ninth century, the long continuance in use of similarly decorated beads leaves open the possibility of an equally long life for the pins.

In general, the decorative style employed on the ornaments found in the hoards is regarded as emanating from a west European (Carolingian) source. Friis Johansen, in 1912, in his paper on the Terslev hoard,⁸ stressed this point in particular, refuting the idea, occasionally advanced, that

¹ Holger Arbman, *Schweden und das karolingische Reich*, 68, with reference to Holwerda in *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, Leiden, 1928, N.R. ix, 32 ff.

² K. Friis Johansen, 'Sølvskatten fra Terslev', *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1912, 189 ff.

³ Arbman, *op. cit.* 196 ff., Taf. 53-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 203, Taf. 64. See also the same writer's *Birka I, Die Gräber*, Uppsala, 1940, Taf. 114, 2,

4-6.

⁵ Roar Skovmand, 'De danske Skattefund fra Vikingetiden og den ældste Middelalder indtil omkring 1150', *Aarbøger*, 1942, 247, Tabel 20.

⁶ Skovmand, *op. cit.* 40 (Heljarp).

⁷ V.C.H. Essex, i, 331, fig. 6.

⁸ Johansen, *op. cit.* A useful list of silver beads with filigree decoration, isolated examples as well as those occurring in hoards, is given on pp. 235-6, footnote 5.

the art of the silversmith was derived from an oriental source, as were the hundreds of Sassanid coins found in the hoards.

A final point, whether the pins were Viking imports or made in these islands, remains a question. The associations of the Ballinaby grave, as well as that from Saffron Walden, tend to suggest their presence as imports. Any variety of northern invader could have brought them, to judge from the wide Scandinavian distribution of the silver beads constructed on the same principle as the heads of our pins.

2. Tubular bone object, 6.8 cm. long, and 3.1 cm. at greatest diameter, 'ploughed up in a field at Sawdon' (fig. 2). On one face the bone has been pared down to form a flat, U-shaped panel with overhanging lip, which is perforated with a hole, 1.4 cm. diameter. Lower down, and at right angles, are two diametric pairs of holes, all about 1.0 cm. diameter. The back is ornamented with four panels of incised interlace, confined by a border which follows the outline of the lateral perforations, and terminates in spiral stops. The interlace in each case comprises triple-beaded strapwork; in the upper, larger panels, the strapwork consists of plain beadings flanking a central string of pellets, with further pellets occupying the interstices; in the lower panels the triple beadings of the strapwork are indicated merely by light incisions. Beneath the U-shaped panel are a number of scratches, lacking coherence.

In conclusion I must express my thanks to Mr. D. B. Harden, Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, and to Miss Joan Kirk of the same department, for their kindness in supplying me with details of the Ash pin, and particularly to Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds for placing his knowledge of the Scandinavian material at my disposal.

Food-vessel and Flint Spear-head, Pentire Glaze, Polzeath, North Cornwall.—Miss F. M. Patchett sends the following note:—This food-vessel (fig. 1) was found at Pentire Glaze in 1910 on an estate belonging to Viscount Clifden, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish it. Only two other food-vessels have hitherto occurred in Cornwall, one from Harlyn Bay on the north coast, the other from Treworrick near Mevagissey on the south coast. Unfortunately no details of the discovery of the Pentire food-vessel are available except that it was associated with a cremation and the very fine flint spear-head illustrated (fig. 2).

The shape of the Pentire food-vessel is uncommon. It is biconical and, where most food-vessels have one or more grooves, this has only a thickening or slightly defined cordon at the junction of the cones half-way down the body. The base is thick, rising to the centre, and in some places is pinched, the vessel being asymmetrical in outline. The internal bevel is narrow. The nearest analogies to this form are a food-vessel from Arghfarrel,¹ and one from Ridgeway Hill, Dorset.² The paste is thick and very heavy, containing a large amount of smallish crushed grit. The surface is rough and gritty to the touch. This texture is of a type common in Cornwall at the end of the Middle Bronze Age. In colour it is reddish-brown with a black core. The decoration consists of finger-nail impressions roughly arranged in columns from rim to base. Several deliberate breaks occur in the design, suggesting an Irish origin. The nail-marks have obviously been made by someone with a small hand and very long nails. This form of ornament cannot be paralleled in Cornwall, but it occurs on food-vessels in Ireland and Scotland. An example from Darnhall, Peeblesshire,³ has the nail-marks arranged horizontally, while from Muirkirk⁴ a food-vessel has columns of short slashes. These were both found in short cists associated with cremations. Professor Estyn Evans has drawn my attention to a somewhat similar vessel from Bush Mill, co. Dublin, published by Miss Chitty,⁵ who also notes the small hands and long nails of the maker.

¹ *J.R.S.A.I.* lvii, pt. 11, p. 302.

² Abercrombie, *B.A.P.*, vol. i, fig. 1.

³ *P.S.A.Scot.* lxiv, 26.

⁵ *Antiq. Journ.* xiii, 259.

⁴ *Ibid.*, lx, 151.

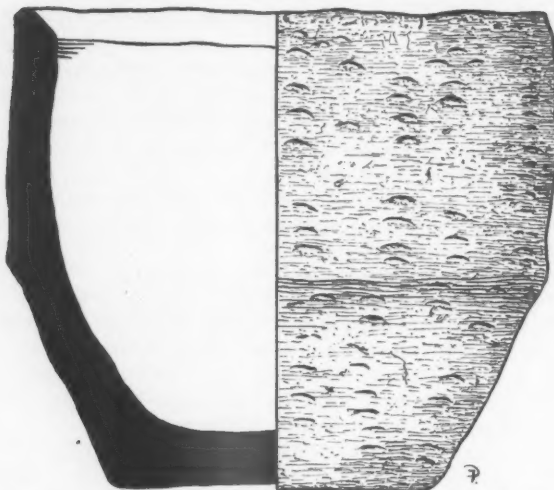


FIG. 1. Food-vessel found at Pentire Glaze, N. Cornwall. (1)

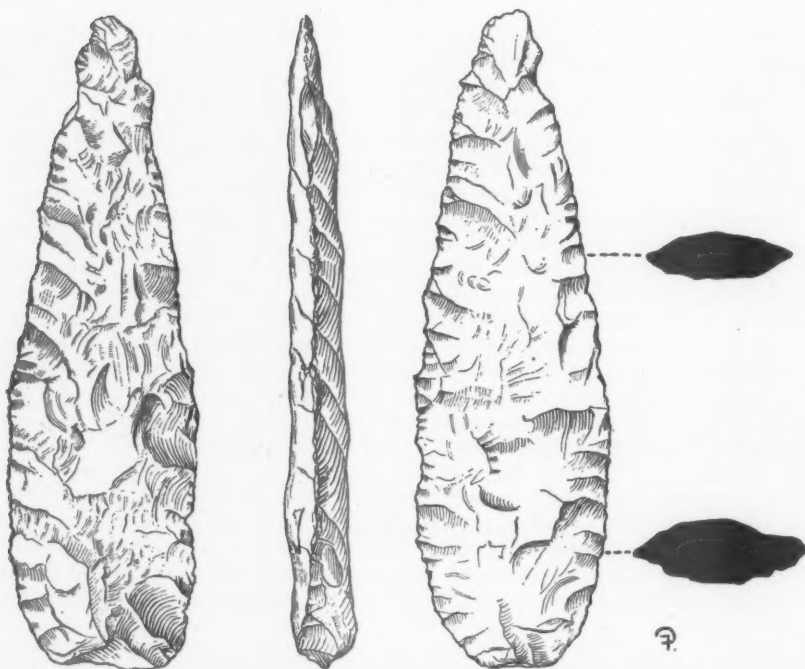


FIG. 2. Spear-head found with a food-vessel at Pentire Glaze, N. Cornwall. (1)

Though the form suggests the Urn complex, the over-all decoration of the Pentire vessel together with its thick walls puts it among the food-vessels. Unfortunately it is impossible to say whether it contained the cremation, for no signs of this show in the interior. The paste and general appearance combine to suggest a late Middle Bronze Age date.

The spear-head is made from a flake and in Mr. A. D. Lacaille's opinion is a very fine specimen of the Middle Bronze Age period. He goes on to say: 'The flint is a beauty for its workmanship and its beautiful flat surface-flaking bears the stamp of the best Bronze Age working. It is very remarkable that the central ridge has been completely flaked down, and that, except for a small part of its surface, the bulb of percussion has been finely flaked without, however, reducing it sensibly. The striking platform is plain and suggests that the parent flake was struck from a single core.' Miss Chitty considers that it may well be of Irish origin.

The provenance of this find, with its Irish affinities, on the estuary of the Camel, may be regarded perhaps as evidence that the trade with Ireland, quiescent during the earlier part of the Middle Bronze Age, was now reviving.

Amphorae and their Potters' Stamps.—Mr. M. H. Callender communicates the following note:—No serious and connected study of amphorae and of the potters' stamps which are often found on them has yet been made. It is true that lists of stamps are to be found in the *Corpus* of Latin Inscriptions, and that particularly valuable work was done in volume xv of that work by Dressel, who gave there the results of his excavations on the Monte Testaccio¹ in Rome; it is also true that some individual reports on excavations or pottery have attempted to deduce a chronological significance from the shapes of these vessels;² yet, on the whole, amphorae have not received a great deal of attention, and in the vast majority of reports they occupy a very minor position, if they are mentioned at all. It is a rare and refreshing sight to see them illustrated by photographs or sections, even in the case of stratified fragments or those found with other datable material. Yet these vessels, which were used for the storage and transportation of such commodities as wine, oil, fish-sauce, salted fish, and probably grain, can undoubtedly provide much useful information both to the archaeologist and to the economic historian.

I am hoping to complete, in the course of the next two years, a general survey of amphorae and their stamps. The first need is to compile a comprehensive index of potters' stamps; this will include all examples recorded in those volumes of the *Corpus* which deal with the western provinces of the Empire, and the numerous stamps which have been found and published in those provinces since the advent of the *Corpus*. As many of the stamps as possible will be assigned dates; a useful start is given in this direction by some of the Monte Testaccio stamps, which occur on amphorae which also have the names of consuls painted on them, while others can be dated less definitely by reference to the position in which they were found on the hill: thus stamps found on the north and east sides of it are not later than Pius (A.D. 138–61), whilst those found at its foot are thought to be slightly earlier.³ Other stamps can be given an approximate date from the occupation periods of the sites on which they have been found; in particular, valuable dating evidence for many stamps can be obtained from their occurrence in the *Schutthügel* of the legionary fortress of Vindonissa, as the upper strata of that rubbish-tip can be dated almost certainly to the years A.D. 80–100, or at Pompeii, destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in

¹ The Monte Testaccio, more than 150 ft. in height, is almost entirely composed of fragments of amphorae. It appears to have been the place on the banks of the Tiber where ships discharged their cargoes.

² Notably J. Curle, *Newstead*; R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, 'The Roman Amphitheatre at

Caerleon' (*Archaeologia*, lxxvii); F. Oelmann, *Die Keramik des Kastells Niederbieber*; E. Ritterling, 'Das frühromische Lager bei Hofheim' (*Nassauer Annalen*, xxxiv); S. Löschcke, 'Haltern' (*Mitteilungen der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen*, v).

³ C.I.L. xv, 492.

A.D. 79. The index should reveal much information about the extent, intensity, and chief periods of trade in the commodities mentioned; it should be possible to trace with some degree of accuracy the activities of several specific exporting firms, since some stamps give the names of such firms as well as the names of the potter or pottery workshop; e.g. the firm of 'Melissus and Melissa Brother and Sister', who appear to have obtained their amphorae from the 'Scimniana' workshop, which was situated in the town of Astigi=Ecija in the valley of the river Baetis=Guadalquivir in southern Spain.¹ This firm sent its products to places as far apart as Rome, Wales, Hadrian's Wall, south and central Gaul, and Germany. It may even be possible to ascertain which commodities such firms specialized in, by scientific inspection of the interiors of amphorae which bear their stamps.

Of course, as R. G. Collingwood pointed out in his 'Economic Survey of Roman Britain',² the fact that amphorae are found on military sites does not indicate trade in the strict sense of the word; yet it must be remembered that even on military sites there were normally civilian settlements.

Other problems which call for further research are the methods of transportation, and the methods of sealing the amphorae in order to make them liquid-tight.³

A further need is for a comprehensive study of the development of amphora-types as an aid to dating. Stratified amphora fragments can often give the shape of the original vessel so that, even though no stamp is found on the fragment, evidence of type and, therefore, date may be forthcoming; this should provide valuable additional evidence for the date of a sealed level. It has not yet been fully investigated whether the development from the first-century tall amphora with peaked handles to the globular so-called second-century type was a general one throughout the producing areas, or whether it was a localized development to meet the needs of special products. The first of the two types is thought to have died out just after the middle of the first century; two examples were found at Caerleon, however, which 'may either be late survivals or may be relics of a mid-first-century occupation of the site—a possibility, however, which is not yet supported by substantial evidence'.⁴ Dressel gives diagrams of amphora shapes⁵ according to the contents of the vessels, and includes both the above types. Research should show whether these conflicting views can be reconciled.

It would be appreciated if readers of this journal who possess or know of unpublished material of this kind, in particular amphora-stamps, would communicate particulars to the writer at Hatfield College, Durham.

Pottery from Northfleet, Kent.—Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, F.S.A., and Mr. J. W. Brailsford contribute the following:—

THE SITE. During the course of the investigations which I carried out in the Ebbsfleet valley shortly before the recent war I noticed a small hollow cut into the solid chalk and filled in with a calcareous stony loam. This hollow was situated in the right side of the entrance into the main chalk quarry located north-east of Northfleet sewage works (New Popular O.S. 1-in. Map (1940), Sheet 171, London SE., map ref. 619738).

The shape and dimensions of the hollow cut into the chalk, which I subsequently excavated, proved to be roughly circular, having approximately a diameter of 5 ft. and a depth of 2 ft. 6 in. It was covered by 18 in. of hillwash.

¹ Further light can be thrown, perhaps, on the provenance of amphorae, and thus on the location of firms, by the scientific examination of the fabric of amphorae by chemists or crystallographers.

² In Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iii, 109–10.

³ The article 'Über die Abdichtung der Amphoren' (Report for 1925–6 of the *Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa*, pp. 9–10) is essential for the study of this problem.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, lxxviii, 186–7.

⁵ *C.I.L.* xv, tab. II.

Interspersed throughout the matrix of the calcareous infilling were fragments of pottery and Roman tiles, the bones and teeth of ox, pig, and sheep, and a contemporary molluscan fauna.

The pottery fragments, consisting of Roman and Anglo-Saxon types at least, occurred without any chronological stratification.

The presence of *Helix aspersa* and the larger variety of Arion granules would suggest, at the earliest, a Romano-British age for the commencement of the process of infilling.

The pottery fragments are now in the British Museum.

J. P. T. B.

THE POTTERY. The pottery found by Mr. Burchell in the Northfleet pit includes thirteen sherds of Roman date (second to fourth centuries), seven sherds having the outer surface striated by a comb or bunch of twigs (as found on Belgic and Romano-Belgic sites in Britain, in the

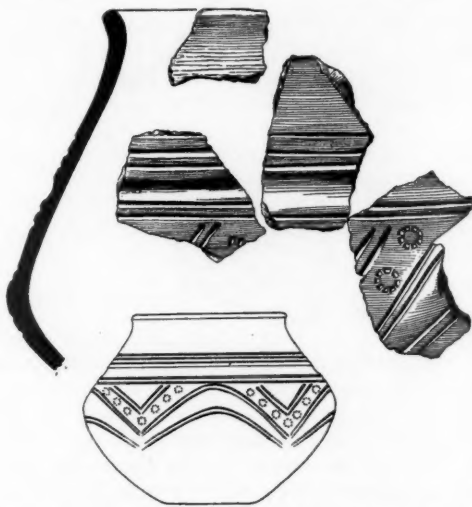


FIG. 1. Fragment of early Saxon pot from Northfleet, with conjectural restoration. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Marne culture,¹ and at La Panne²), and some forty sherds without distinctive features. Besides the above there were found two groups of sherds which deserve detailed consideration:

1. *Eight sherds with grooved and stamped ornament.* The exterior is burnished, and dark except for the lower part of the sherd bearing two rosette-stamps; this is an ochreous red.

Mr. J. N. L. Myres, M.A., F.S.A., has been kind enough to give me an opinion on the four sherds of this group shown in fig. 1. He associates them with the early Saxon invasions of the mid-fifth century, and writes: '... I should stress (a) the fine hard ware and high surface polish, and (b) the association of fine lines and wide grooves on the neck as features suggesting an early date and close continental connections. The sparing use of stamped ornament and the slight solid bosses (probably arranged as chevrons) are consistent with this and make a Saxon-Frisian origin somewhere round the Rhine mouths probable.' Similar pots were found in the Northfleet Saxon cemetery, which lies some 200 yds. or so to the north-east.

¹ Hawkes and Dunning, *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, 273, fig. 24, 1.

² Rahir, *Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthrop. de Bruxelles*, xlii (1927), figs. 11, 12, p. 43.

The four sherds illustrated are probably from the same pot, and a conjectural reconstruction is shown. (The sherds are arranged in what is probably their correct vertical relationship, but their juxtaposition horizontally is without significance.)

2. *Sherds with finger-nail or 'pincée' ornament.* The nine sherds of this type are represented by the three shown in fig. 2.

Fig. 2*a*. Fragment of rim, slightly expanded and everted. Coarse ware, almost black. Immediately below the rim, on the outside, is a burnished zone; below this the surface is ornamented by vertical rows of close-set, pinched-up 'rustications' (made with the finger and thumb above one another and not side by side).

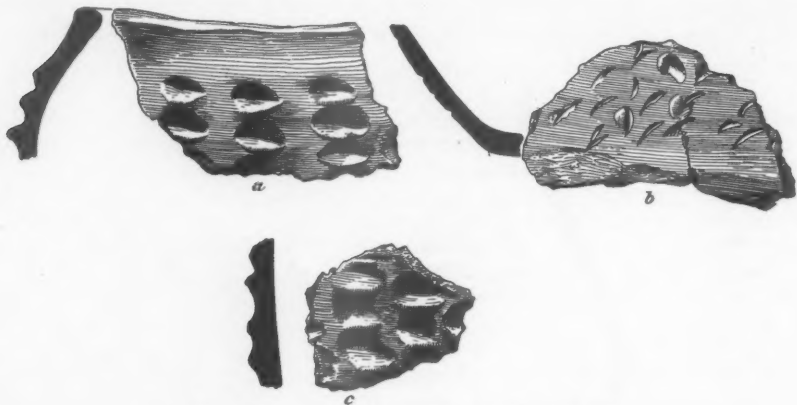


FIG. 2. 'Rusticated' sherds from Northfleet. ($\frac{1}{4}$)

Fig. 2*b*. A fragment including part of the obtuse base-angle of the pot. Hard, medium-grained, greyish-red ware; surface rusticated with small finger-nail impressions.

Fig. 2*c*. Medium-grained ware, the outside surface greyish-red, the interior surface black. The exterior has been ornamented with relatively large pinched-up 'rustications'.

Examples of pottery comparable to the Northfleet 'rusticated' sherds occur in western and northern Europe over a very wide range of time. While the difference in ware rules out any connexion between our sherds and the well-known Early Bronze Age 'rusticated' pottery, or the later 'rusticated' urns, such as occur in East Anglia, 2*c* is very similar in fabric and ornament to the Neolithic 'B' bowl from Wallingford (in the B.M.). The ware and decoration of the Northfleet sherds are also closely comparable to those of coarse, carinated pots found in the La Tène culture of the Marne¹ and at La Panne.² While Marnian wares are quite common in south-east England, neither they nor Neolithic pottery would be likely to occur in the present context.

We have already seen that the Northfleet 'rusticated' sherds are associated with pottery of early Saxon date. Now, there are quite a number of examples of Saxon pottery from England which are decorated in a similar manner. The following list includes all those which I have been able to collect, but I do not claim that it is exhaustive.

¹ Hawkes and Dunning, *op. cit.*, p. 273. *B.M.* figs. 9, 10, 13, 14; *ibid.* xlv (1930), pp. 35 ff., *E.I.A.* Guide, pl. v. 8.

² Rahir, *op. cit.* xlii (1927), pp. 37 ff., 47.

figs. 23, 24.

Sutton Courtenay. See 'A Saxon Village at Sutton Courtenay, Berks.', by E. T. Leeds (*Arch.* lxxiii (1922-3), pl. xxiv, 2, and xcii (1947), p. 92, pls. xxiiib and xxiii).

West Stow, Suffolk. From the Saxon cemetery. 1. Bowl in Ashmolean Museum (Reg. No. 1932.887; information from Mr. E. T. Leeds). 2. Bowl illustrated in *Collectanea Antiqua*, ii, pl. xli B, and in *V.C.H. Suffolk*, pl. iv, and now in Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds. The courtesy of the Curator, Mr. H. J. M. Maltby, has enabled me to examine this bowl, which is very similar in ornament, and almost identical in fabric and finish, to our 2a.

Gilton, Kent. Two pots with finger-tip ornament from the Saxon cemetery. See B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Gilton, graves 16 and 80 (where the pots are regarded as Romano-British cineraries antedating the Saxon burials).

Lackford, Suffolk. Two urns from the Saxon cremation cemetery. Unpublished, information from Mr. T. C. Lethbridge.¹

Ixworth, Suffolk. Fragments from near the Roman villa(?), yielding coins of the late third century and of Honorius. This site has recently been partially excavated by Mr. Basil Brown,¹ of the Ipswich Museum, and is not yet published.

'Rusticated' ware of comparable date to the above English examples is also known from the Continent.²

The Northfleet 'rusticated' sherds may confidently be assigned to the same class of Saxon ware as the examples listed above. They are of interest as a fresh example of a little-known type, and, like the Ixworth fragments (which evidently belong to the same group, though without definite Saxon associations), they show a suggestive relation with Romano-British material.

J. W. B.

¹ Mr. Lethbridge and Mr. Brown have been kind enough to let me examine specimens from Lackford and Ixworth. Mr. Brown tells me that he knows of further examples of this class of pottery from Suffolk sites.

² Bøe, *Bergens Museums Skrifter*, No. 14, 'Jernalderens Keramikk i Norge', figs. 18, 21, 246-52 (A.D. 300-600). Professor van Giffen tells me that this type of ornament occurs in a fifth-century horizon in the 'Terps' of Holland.

REVIEWS

Foundations in the Dust. A Story of Mesopotamian Exploration. By SETON LLOYD, F.S.A. 8½ × 5½. Pp. xii + 237. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1947. 15s.

Mr. Lloyd, as Technical Adviser to the Department of Antiquities in Iraq, was exceptionally qualified by his experience and responsibilities to dedicate this book to the unusual men (and one woman) who built in the dust and sand of Iraq the firm foundations of our rich knowledge concerning the history and art of ancient Mesopotamia. Mr. Lloyd tempers his genial admiration for those pioneers with much shrewd criticism; he describes them well, while Mrs. Lloyd has completed the pleasing effect with her graceful portraits. Of the famous men whom we may now praise, a goodly number were English. It would be interesting to know on what authority Father Vincent (in the *Revue Biblique*, 1946, 404 n. 1) describes C. J. Rich as 'of French origin'. Of Rich and his wife, and the slightly ruffianly traveller Buckingham, Lloyd paints a wholly delightful picture. The great Rawlinson, however, wrote less about himself and remains consequently more elusive. But to my mind the most remarkable man of them all remains Layard, whose brilliant youthful contribution to archaeology formed only the small part of a long and busy life, represented by over fifty volumes of manuscript papers bequeathed to the British Museum, yet the only part which has brought him lasting fame. Layard was not exactly a pioneer. Botta had already discovered Khorsabad, and disclosed the existence of Assyrian art. But Layard not merely excavated Nineveh and Nimrud; he also, by his lively and vigorous manner of writing, created a new literary genre, that of presenting archaeology and exploration in journalistic form (in the best sense of the word). His books became best-sellers and made Assyriology a household word before Greek archaeology had been invented or ever Olympia dug or Troy found. But what is more, they show that even as an excavator Layard was many years before his time. Without the simplest training or experience, almost unaided, without scientific equipment, without comforts or even medical assistance, and with very little money, he dug, recorded, accurately described, and drew beautifully without pause, right through the fiercest trials of an Iraqi summer. To those who study his work or private papers he emerges as a prodigy with an insight into the needs of science which his successors, even Rawlinson, long lacked. I for one do not believe the malicious story repeated after Budge by Lloyd (and Woolley in his preface), that when Layard first found tablets at Nimrud he threw them away, ignorantly thinking them to be queerly marked bits of pottery. Budge had no cause to love Layard, and if Budge's informant—an aged native who had worked for Layard and Rassam as a boy—was to be believed at all, the tablets were discarded by orders of others than Layard, for he had seen cuneiform before; such carelessness was not like him, and when he found tablets there, he published the fact (cf. *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii, 185-7; *Nineveh and Babylon*, 358), nor have tablets been found at Nimrud on the dumps. Another unkind suggestion about him (this time Lloyd's) must also be denied: that he left the fine lions which he found at distant Arban to be ruined by exposure to the weather. When I passed that way in 1935 they were still safe, though accessible inside the tunnels which Layard dug nearly a century before.

The falling-off from Layard's standards was soon apparent in the undertakings of the 'Assyrian Excavation Fund', supported by aristocratic but uninformed subscribers whose interest Layard's discoveries had awoken. Its two jejune reports were wholly lost to science until a copy of the first was recently discovered at Newcastle (in the Library of the Literary and Philosophic Society) and of the second in the British Museum; while as to the important portfolio of drawings of sculptures which they commissioned William Boucher to make, Lloyd understates in saying it disappeared before it could be adequately published. In fact, it disappeared without a trace

since 1856 before being published at all except for one sketch, as Gadd has described. The sculptures Boucher drew are now as unknown as if they had never been found. Should these lines catch the eye and awaken the memory of anyone who could tell what has become of these drawings, it would be welcome news indeed.

Of the *dégringolade* under Rassam we need say no more than Lloyd, who yet has a good word for his positive achievements, such as they were. Lloyd has himself inspected the site of Balawat, where Rassam claimed he found the famous bronze gates of Shalmaneser, now in the British Museum. Lloyd accepts Rassam's account. Even if this is so, it is not enough; would not a small dig there both settle an old controversy, tell us the nature of the important building from which they came, and disclose the truth?

R. D. BARNETT

The Victoria History of the County of Warwick. Vol. iv. *Hemlingford Hundred*. Edited by L. F. SALZMAN, M.A., F.S.A. 12 x 8½. Pp. xiii + 263. Published for the University of London Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press, London, 1947. 42s.

The Hemlingford Hundred of Warwickshire, the most northerly division of the county, is regarded by many people as dull and spoilt by industrialization. It is true that the beauty spots are limited in number and that there are districts seriously affected by man's business activities; however, there is still much that retains a rural aspect, and even some of the industrial parts have a charm of their own. All has much that is interesting and of historical importance.

The hundred contains many fine churches, Berkswell, Coleshill, Solihull, and Temple Balsall, for instance, and such houses as Baddesley Clinton, Castle Bromwich, and Packington, also Maxstoke Castle and Pooley Hall. At Shustoke is the Old Rectory, the birthplace of Sir William Dugdale, and, in the same parish, Blyth Hall where he wrote *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* and died in 1686. The district is full of interesting sites and buildings. These and many more are comprehensively treated in the new volume of the *Victoria County History*, as one would expect from the editor, our Fellow Mr. L. F. Salzman. Birmingham, and the many surrounding ancient parishes of which the modern city is comprised, has necessarily been excluded; it will be dealt with separately.

By good fortune the particulars of Chilvers Coton were taken in August 1940, for not long afterwards the church was practically destroyed by enemy action.

This volume is a mine of information; not only are the churches and the main buildings most adequately described, but the details of the many old farm-houses which abound in some parts of the hundred are treated with equal care. The more important of these have useful plans, but one regrets the absence of maps; these would have been a great help in some of the larger parishes. The only map in the volume is a reproduction of that of the hundred from the second edition of *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1730) and, like that in vol. iii, is much reduced, many of the names are illegible, and a magnifying-glass is of little use as it is printed from a half-tone block; a plain, modern, easily-read map would have been preferable.

The volume is enriched with many excellent illustrations; where a building has been altered, use has been made of the Aylesford Collection in the Birmingham Reference Library which has pictures of practically every old building in the county. These, made early in the last century, give a good general impression of each building, their only drawback being that the artist apparently did not understand architectural detail and his idea of proportion was very inaccurate. For this reason a good modern photograph would be preferable when the present condition of the building has been little altered during the last century. This applies, for instance, to the illustrations of the churches of Coleshill, Great Packington, and Nuneaton, while the same might be said of the illustration of Hartshill Castle, which is reproduced from an engraving

dated 1785, for there are plenty of photographs obtainable taken before the collapse of the Elizabethan house a few years ago which might have been used.

The writer on the section of Kingsbury, the head of the Hundred, seems to miss the point that in the attic of the Hall is the Court Room approached by its own staircase, and there is no suggestion that this most interesting building has fallen into a lamentable state of disrepair, which unfortunately is the case.

This is a most welcome volume, and it seems ungracious to complain of what really after all are only minor points.

P. B. CHATWIN

Gothic England, A Survey of National Culture 1350-1550. By JOHN HARVEY. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xiii + 240. London: Batsford. 21s.

Mr. Harvey has for some years past devoted a keen intelligence and exemplary enthusiasm to the study of medieval art and its history, and in particular to what can be gleaned of the personalities and work of the craftsmen responsible for the design and erection of buildings included within the period prescribed in the title of this volume. Its end-papers, inscribed with the names of masons, carpenters, carvers, painters, poets, and musical composers who worked in this era, show the width of the author's interests, which are by no means confined to architecture. He endeavours in fact to provide a synthesis of the arts during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages as practised in England and to suggest the causes, external and internal, political and economic, which guided their mutual relations in one current of taste and active expression.

Times have greatly changed since 'Perpendicular', under the influence of a criticism whose moral earnestness somewhat obscured clearness of aesthetic expression, was regarded as a synonym for a decadent and corrupt type of art which had sadly departed from the old standard of thirteenth-century purity. The admiration given to the romantic beauty of early-fourteenth-century art and its profusion of ornamental and naturalistic detail was cautious and reserved: there was the scent of approaching decay in the air and the Black Death with its funereal consequences was not far ahead. Too much perhaps can be made of the influence of the Black Death on the fortunes of art, but there can be no doubt that the artists of the generation which attained maturity under it and during the period which followed worked on new lines, less careful of variety of detail and concentrating all the energy of their imagination upon a type of architectural design which gave full opportunity to the exhibition of craftsmanship, hitherto subordinated to the convenience of the mistress art. There have always been heretics, however, who doubted whether the condemnation of the latest style of Gothic architecture was not overstrained, and whether previous periods had achieved so remarkable a harmony or so just a proportion of the structural and decorative elements necessary to its achievements—whether, in fact, English art had not survived the age of fourteenth-century pestilences to pursue its course with renewed energy and with aims of which, in the dim religious light of the thirteenth century, the full advantages had been but imperfectly entertained and had still long to wait for illustration by practice.

In the present century, however, the errors of the past in this direction have been greatly revised, and there has been a general agreement of opinion to recognize no small virtue in that imposing procession of buildings which, from the choir and presbytery of Gloucester to its latest master-work in Henry VII's Chapel, receives Mr. Harvey's enthusiastic tribute. Others, e.g. the late Aymer Vallance, have done much by precept to inculcate this lesson, but it has never been so unreservedly expressed as in the present volume. To Mr. Harvey, Richard II, the king with whose aspect the Westminster portrait and effigy and the Wilton Diptych have made us familiar, assumes almost heroic proportions as the patron of art and the lover of peace. If the judgement of the political historian will possibly hesitate to concur in such unstinted praise from other not unimportant points of view, he will probably not object to the estimate of the era which

produced the roof of Westminster Hall and the poems of Chaucer as the culmination of the Golden Age of Gothic genius. If the advent of the Lancastrian dynasty was the epoch of what Mr. Harvey, departing from his lyric standard of phraseology, calls 'the great slump' in the arts, Indian summer came in with the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI, the winter of the wars of the Roses was at any rate 'pregnant' and was followed by the 'frozen spring' of the early Tudor period in which the magic traditions of the past still retained their power in face of the allurements of the Renaissance.

Parallels and analogies present themselves readily to Mr. Harvey's mind, and, when he reaches the last stage of the progress that he describes, following an example set by Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell, he illustrates 'the definite relations between the various phases of each cultural cycle' by drawing a comparison between those of his chosen period and those of the Renaissance development on the threshold of which he leaves us. In both he sees a similar direction of movement: Gothic England had its later fashions akin to Baroque and Rococo. His work, in short, is distinguished by 'the shaping spirit of imagination', and he is not shy in applying it to the art of the age which he has felt himself competent to expound on so many of its sides. His exposition may not meet with general agreement: it is unconventional and provocative, striking out along new paths and pursuing unfamiliar lines of thought on which it is unusual for the architectural historian and critic, with their customary devotion to a single art, to venture. But Mr. Harvey's work rests upon a solid foundation of knowledge and deserves careful and attentive study. It is supplemented by appendixes with selections of illustrative quotations and bibliographies which bear witness to the variety of reading employed by the author. Last but not least, the admirable series of illustrations, including four colour-plates, forms a thoroughly representative collection of the achievements of late Gothic craftsmen. The name of the designer of a building is given where it is known, and it is satisfactory to see Richard Winchcomb credited with the design of the noble church of Adderbury, once attributed, on grounds which were plausible but quite insufficient, to the hand of William of Wykeham. On the other hand, there are too many examples in which the name of a not impossible designer is given as probable. Although there is excellent ground for the names attached to a first-rate picture of the fourteenth-century octagon and lantern at Ely, and Mr. Harvey mentions the doubt connected with Alan of Walsingham's responsibility for the design, yet there must have been some reason for the position in his epitaph of the words *Flos operatorum* as the chief claim to fame of the Sacrist and Prior of the church.

A. H. T.

Old Cheshire Churches. A Survey of their History, Fabric, and Furniture with Records of the Older Monuments. By RAYMOND RICHARDS, F.S.A. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xxvii + 523. 365 illustrations, 7 plans, and county-map. London: Batsford, 1947. £6. 6s. 0d.

This very handsomely produced book provides a complete and detailed survey of the churches of Cheshire which, with few exceptions, are little known outside the county. Cheshire was not one of the foremost building districts of England and the Chester stone, however warm its tint, is not very resistant to atmosphere and still less to chemical influences; this, however, is perhaps all the more reason why Cheshire's ecclesiastical buildings should be dealt with in a sympathetic manner by one who has known and loved them all his life, and who can present them to the inquiring antiquary as fully and finally as Mr. Richards has done. The book is introduced by a foreword from Mr. J. H. E. Bennett, for long a student of the historical documentary background of the county, and an exhaustive introduction by Mr. F. H. Crossley, who has himself written so much on the churches, church fittings, and monuments of Cheshire.

The book is arranged alphabetically under the names of the churches and each item includes an architectural description, an account of the woodwork, monuments, plate, and other fittings of

each and a list of the clergy who have held the living. It is furthermore particularly gratifying that the author has not confined himself within restricted dates, and the screen of 1740 at Prestbury and the manorial pew at Alderley, to name only two instances, are adequately illustrated. Attention should also be called to the admirable series of illustrations of funeral monuments, of which the handsome tomb of Sir Hugh Calverley commemorates the celebrated warrior of the French wars and the very beautiful effigies of Sir Thomas Wilbraham and his wife are ascribed by Mrs. Esdaile to Edward Marshall and assessed as his masterpiece. As Mr. Crossley notes, the finer towers have often double-windowed belfries which form a noticeable feature of Cheshire churches and are represented at Great Budworth, Alderley, Tavin, Mobberley, and Middlewich. The finest parish church is probably that at Nantwich with its octagonal central tower and rib-vaulted chancel. Perhaps the finest church-building of Cheshire was the royal Cistercian Abbey of Vale Royal which has been completely destroyed, and only the plan of its great church has been recovered by excavation. The cathedral, however much restored externally, still stands, as do the wrecks of the collegiate church of St. John at Chester. One could have wished that the highly unusual plans of the twelfth-century churches at both places had been more emphasized. St. John's with its twelfth-century eastern arch has affinities with Hereford and Llandaff, but the original plan of the east end of the cathedral cannot be equated with any other known English building and one has to go as far afield as Compiègne (S. Corneille) to find a parallel.

Where so much is good it is perhaps ungracious to find fault, but we think that plans of more of the buildings should have been provided. Those included are seven in number, and of these the plan of St. John's, Chester, is open to criticism on the score of incompleteness. This is the more to be regretted as a plan of the same building, published in the *Archaeological Journal* of 1937, supplies some of these deficiencies and might have been consulted and adapted with advantage.

The book concludes with a series of valuable appendixes with extracts from churchwardens' and other accounts, an extensive bibliography, and a folding map of the county.

The illustrations, mainly photographic, are of almost uniform excellence, and the book is produced with the care and attractiveness which we are now accustomed to expect from its publisher. The stalls at Nantwich, the rood-loft at Mobberley, the Mainwaring tomb at Acton, the ringers' jugs at Macclesfield, and the rich chest at Malpas may be specially mentioned as admirable presentations of features of exceptional interest.

A. W. C.

The Cathedral and Royal Burgh of Kirkwall (second edition). By JOHN MOONEY, F.S.A.Scot. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xiv + 251, with 17 plates and one line-illustration. Kirkwall: W. R. Mackintosh, 1947. 21s.

Mr. Mooney's new book, like his earlier *St. Magnus, Earl of Orkney*, is a welcome contribution to the history of the northern islands, and gives proof of the continuing vigour of the group of Orcadian antiquaries and scholars. At the same time this work possesses a much wider interest in its discussion of questions arising from the Impignoration of 1468, and students of the fifteenth century will find much that is of value in his account of James III's policy and actions. His review of the Saga material is also useful and suggestive.

The author is primarily concerned with the implications of the charter of 1486, by which James III conveyed the cathedral of St. Magnus to the provost, bailies, and council of the burgh of Kirkwall, along with 'all and sundry prebendaries, tiends and others thereto belonging'. A question naturally arises as to how James had the power to make any such grant, and to give away the cathedral and all its property and endowments without having obtained the concurrence of the Church authorities, or of the Parliament of Scotland, or even of the king of Denmark, whose sovereign rights were only in temporary abeyance—as it must have appeared at that time—

pending the payment of the balance of his daughter's dowry. Mr. Mooney's answer is that the cathedral was, and always had been, the property of the earl of Orkney, and not of the bishopric or of the crown of Norway; and that consequently James III, who had acquired the earldom by excambion from William Sinclair in 1470-1, simply made over property which belonged to himself in his special capacity of earl. He distinguishes between the rights of the Norwegian Crown, the Church, the earl, and the individual udallers, and lay stress on the fact that Christian I's pledge was concerned with the first of these alone.

Much of the book is devoted to argument in support of the foregoing suggestion, and to facts relating to the history of the earldom and of the burgh as well as of St. Magnus' Cathedral. Part III is designed to illustrate the peculiar position and exceptional powers of the earls, particular attention being drawn to their retention of skatt, in Norway a royal prerogative. The foundation of the cathedral by Earl Rognvald, the arrangements that he made for its maintenance, and the vicissitudes through which it passed in later times, are all faithfully dealt with, including the attempts to secure its control that were made by the Crown in the middle of the nineteenth century and by the Church of Scotland in 1925. In spite of these, the cathedral still remains in the keeping of the burgh magistrates, in accordance with James III's charter. In describing the fabric of the cathedral Mr. Mooney was unable to make use of the R.C.A.M. *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Orkney*, as this only appeared when his own first edition was already in print; ch. iv should accordingly be read in conjunction with the Commissioners' account, which is detailed and fully illustrated. The Commissioners do not seem to have held Mr. Mooney's view of the relationship between St. Magnus' Cathedral and St. Swithin's, Stavanger; they see nothing distinctively Norse in the technique or design of the former, ascribing the original work to masons of the Durham school, but they do not consider this remarkable in view of the large numbers of English and Scottish masons employed on the great churches of Norway and of the predominance of English influence among the contemporary Norwegian clergy.

ANGUS GRAHAM

York Monuments. By J. B. MORRELL. 8½ × 11½. Pp. viii + 131, xc plates. For the *Yorkshire Gazette*, by B. T. Batsford. 3 guineas. n.d.

According to its dust-cover, this describes 'the examples in York of the various periods and styles of monumental memorials and mural tablets'. 'Some examples from York' would be more accurate, though the reader is left to discover from the various chapters whether or no the sum or the part is illustrated and catalogued. The phraseology of the dust-cover is otherwise misleading, for that monumental memorial, the brass, receives nowhere more than passing mention, and since it is now recognized that a carver worked alike in latten or stone, its inclusion was doubly warranted.

The book deals, mainly by illustrations, with sculptured memorials from 1255 to c. 1920, all within the city boundary. Since the letterpress has apparently been made subsidiary to the illustrations, it is a pity the latter are of such varying merit. The changing fashions of church decoration have placed most monuments where they are least visible; but, allowing for the difficulties of the interior photographer (difficulties in some plates triumphantly overcome), one has the impression that accuracy of delineation came second to pictorial effect, and one turns regretfully from Blore's drawing of Walter de Grey's tomb, to face the cavern entrance of William Greenfield's grave.

York must be unusually poor in Gothic memorials. Two pages only cover the years 1255-1539 and the eight illustrations are all from the cathedral, though mention is made of two box-tombs in parish churches, and two military effigies of the York school of carvers in the museum of the Philosophical Society. There is apparently no stone monument in York between 1539

and 1588, but thence onward the tally is well described and illustrated profusely. In dealing with 1588-1664 the author states that with the exception of the Anne Bennett and Belassis monuments, Mrs. Esdaile thinks they are all the work of York sculptors. Two pages later he ascribes, probably rightly, to Nicholas Stone the partially destroyed monument to Frances, Countess of Cumberland, 1643; from the illustration, that of Archbishop Hutton, 1605, is of the Southwark School, while the effigy of Archbishop Matthews does not strike one as local work.

It is pleasant to find those charming but neglected murals, the cartouches, dealt with in some detail and, on the whole, clearly illustrated. Heraldic ledgers, in the same chapter, are more scantily treated, and described as of slate, and covering at the most seventy-five years. This may be so for York, but their general period is from the Restoration to the early nineteenth century, their stone varied according to locality, though in the main imported from Belgium, and they displayed considerable artistry in their heraldic treatment. The three illustrations given, all at an angle, do not do justice to the type.

The Napoleonic period is well represented, and Mr. Morrell is to be congratulated on putting together so representative a collection of the smaller murals which have never before received serious attention, and so richly deserve it. Of the Gothic, there is one delightful example from Holy Trinity, Micklegate, of 1771; of the Victorian revival, the minster provides excellent specimens for the curious. The book ends with a summary of York sculptors and a bibliography, and has an index.

R. H. D'E.

The Biography of the Common Man of the City of York. By J. B. MORRELL. 5½ × 8½. Pp. xxiv + 220, woodcut reproductions. B. T. Batsford, 1947-8. 12s. 6d.

This is a selection of and from epitaphs commemorating men and women of York, arranged according to their stations in life, with illustrations where appropriate by reproductions of woodcuts from the *Imagines Mortis*, printed at Lyons in 1538, attributed to Hans Holbein. Possibly the common end of man depicted by the Dance of Death justifies the adjective in the title; the book is in fact concerned in the main with the uncommon man, from Roman emperor to the nineteenth-century workman who died of cholera, and with the uncommon in their epitaphs.

The preface, set throughout within woodcut frames, the uprights from a book of hours printed in Paris in 1507 showing also the Dance of Death, gives 1944 as the date of publication of the author's *York Monuments*, and a useful summary of the history of the inscriptions in the minster and elsewhere.

The author shows genuine appreciation of his subject, and has had here no need to compress his text for the sake of illustrations. For all interested in York genealogies it will repay consultation, but, as a selection only, its appeal is to the general reader.

De mortuis nil nisi bonum must explain, under the category of 'good and charitable women', the inclusion of the Roman lady called Candida and her daughter, whose inscription is partly defaced; Elizabeth Eymes (p. 169) should be Eynns; and to state that Thomas Askwith is commemorated by a brass upon which are three asses seems over-emphasis of popular appeal, as well as misleading, since to his memory exist an inscription and a separate shield bearing the Askwith arms of *sable on a fess or between 3 asses argent, a crescent gules*.

One can wish for Mr. Morrell no better couplet than that he gives in the epitaph of Thomas Wolstenholm of 1812:

His Genius stone with graceful Taste attir'd;
His Works spake Merit, and the Age admir'd;

R. H. D'E.

The Bombed Buildings of Britain. A second and enlarged edition, 1940-5. Edited by J. M. RICHARDS, with notes by JOHN SUMMERSON. 11 x 8½. Pp. 202. London: The Architectural Press, 1947. 25s.

This second and enlarged edition of a book first issued in 1942 now includes illustrations of the architectural casualties of the so-called Baedeker raids and of the rockets and flying-bombs that took their last tragic toll in the closing months of the war. It does not claim to be in any sense a comprehensive record of the disastrous losses we have suffered, nor have the photographs been chosen to inform us of the character of the buildings themselves or the precise character of their damage. The book does, however, include a representative series covering London, the principal bombed towns, and the country-side, and in default of an exhaustive list it provides a most useful guide to the extent of air-raid destruction. In contrast to the photographs, in which we see the confused atmosphere of destruction more than the maimed buildings themselves, Mr. John Summerson's historical and elucidatory notes are models of lively and informative comment. They give the book a very real value, and their scholarship is just what is needed to fertilize the public interest in architecture that has been undoubtedly aroused by the violent overthrow of so many fine buildings.

It is a pity that the several hundred photographs of present damage and engravings of past condition should not have been arranged with an eye to better proportion and effect. It is no doubt a fashion of the day to reduce good views to extinction and to enlarge the mediocre beyond reason, to crowd dissimilar photographs against one another, and to avoid at whatever cost a balanced and restful page. It is none the less a great disservice to the aim of such an album as this, which might have been so much more intelligible if it had followed a less eccentric course. But this is an age when things must be made difficult for us, and we are not the less grateful for the enterprise that has placed this important subject within the reach of all who value English building and mourn its heavy losses.

W. H. GODFREY

Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531, vol. iii. Edited by A. HAMILTON THOMPSON. 10 x 6½. Pp. x+289. Lincoln Record Society, vol. xxxvii. Printed for the Lincoln Record Society, by the Hereford Times, Hereford, 1947.

The third volume continues the visitation of religious houses by Bishops Atwater and Longland, either in person or by commissaries, printed in alphabetical order from Leicester to Wymondley, and followed by the remarkable visitation of the Newarke College at Leicester. This survey of the monasteries in the last years before the Dissolution leaves an impression of decay in spiritual life and of frequent financial difficulties. Heads of houses were autocratic, some of them took revenues allocated to other officials, rendered no accounts, and kept their brethren in ignorance of the financial situation. Records were sometimes taken out of official custody, stewards and bailiffs insubordinate. The brief report on Torksey priory after the bishop's visitation in person in 1519 is curious; a year earlier the visitors of the Augustinian Canons had reported to the general chapter of their Order that at Torksey there was neither cloister nor dormitory and the prior was commanded to rebuild them under pain of suspension. At the same general chapter, the visitors certified that the prior of Wymondley had heedlessly sold a wood worth £100 for £30.¹ He resigned in 1520 and the new prior found the church in a dangerous condition and the bell tower had fallen. He sold 2 acres of wood to raise money for restoration, and when the bishop's chancellor came on a visitation in 1530 the new bell tower was finished as far as the stonemasons' work went. The visitations of three Oxford colleges give interesting glimpses of University life. Some of the Fellows of Brasenose testified that scholars were diligent

¹ H. E. Salter, *Chapters of Augustinian Canons*, pp. 135, 136 (Canterbury and York Society).

in their studies; one Fellow admitted that he went hunting and took scholars of good repute with him for their recreation. There was a complaint that younger bachelors of arts got choice of rooms before their seniors. The Fellows of Lincoln did not dine in hall; one of them played bowls for money and led away younger men. At Oriel the question was raised whether the study of medicine was consistent with the statutes. The building of the college for Augustinian Canons had been long delayed, and money was still being collected for the purpose; at the visitation of Oseney in 1517 a request was made that some of the canons should be sent to study at Oxford; in that monastery, as in several others, there was no grammar-master to teach the younger canons. It was not surprising that the visitors were told of repairs needed to buildings and that rain came in through leaking roofs. Professor Hamilton Thompson has commented on the testimony *omnia bene* given to the visitors in some monasteries. There is an excellent subject index to the three volumes.

ROSE GRAHAM

Catalogue of Maps in the Essex Record Office 1566-1855. Edited by F. G. EMMISON, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., with a foreword by E. LYNAM, D.Litt., F.S.A. Essex Record Office Publications No. 3. 11 x 8½. Pp. xx + 106 + 31 pls. Chelmsford: The Essex County Council, 1947. 21s.

Apart from its value as the catalogue of a large collection of maps and plans of Essex and estates within the county, this work will be of interest to students because it provides a useful introduction to English cartographical productions from about the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth.

The catalogue is preceded by a short review of the history of cartography in Essex and a discussion of some of the features that characterize early estate plans and manorial surveys. The introductory chapter also indicates some of the ways in which early plans and maps help the student of social conditions, the antiquary, and the philologist, and throw light upon the development of art and architecture as well as upon changes in land utilization. The charm of the early map, especially the privately prepared estate map, is adequately illustrated by the half-dozen reproductions in colour, and there are twenty-five half-tone illustrations of such good quality that one can, with the aid of a hand lens, read the names even on those which have involved considerable reduction. For those who are interested in the general rather than the local aspects of the subject there is an abbreviated edition containing the introduction and all the plates.

The catalogue gives sufficient information about each recorded map—its origin, its appearance, and its contents—to enable the serious student to determine its value for his particular purpose. It is, for example, a little surprising to find that a plan of Ingatestone Hall, 1566, was, in effect, a guide to the plumbing system of the house and garden, whilst a plan of the Messing Hall Estate illustrates the way in which, even as late as 1650, some map-makers still preferred the crude diagrammatic outlines that are usually associated with the work of medieval cartographers.

The Essex County Council is to be congratulated upon the segregation of so fine a collection of old manuscript maps that were, until recently, dispersed in country houses and solicitors' offices. The catalogue, which is described by the editor, F. G. Emmison, as the 'result of good team work in which every member of the Record Office has played a part', may be commended to other county authorities for emulation.

F. J. N.

A Description of the Ordnance Survey Medium Scale Maps. Ordnance Survey Office, Chessington, Surrey, 1947. Price 1s. 6d.

The Ordnance Survey classifies its publications as (a) small scales—the familiar ¼-inch, ½-inch, and 1 inch to a mile, with others less important; (b) medium scales—2½ inches and 6 inches

to a mile; (c) large scales—25-inch, with some interesting new larger-scale maps of urban areas in prospect.

The present pamphlet, a very well printed and neat production of 21 pages, deals in detail with the medium-scale maps. There are 12 plates, including Index maps to the new National Grid Series on the 1/25,000 scale ($2\frac{1}{2}$ in. to the mile) which is now in active preparation.

The pamphlet announces the intention to publish a 6-inch map on National Grid Sheet lines, in sheets each representing a square with sides 5 kilometres long, and invites recommendations regarding the detail to be shown and the manner of showing it. In the meantime a Provisional edition of the 6-inch map is being issued at a rate of 50 to 100 sheets a month. This consists of the old County Series of quarter-sheets with the National Grid lines superimposed, and, having regard to the extent to which the old series maps have been used to illustrate archaeological memoirs and have been referred to in connexion with precise indications of locality, it will be necessary for sets of the old sheets or of the present Provisional edition to be carefully preserved in libraries for reference. The boundaries and numbering of the sheets of the new map will be quite different.

A 1/25,000, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch to the mile, map is now in preparation and is being published, also in a Provisional edition, at the rate of 40 sheets a month. This map is based upon the 6-inch map and incorporates what is described as 'available revision material'. It is produced in Outline and Coloured editions, is attractive in appearance, and is convenient in use, since it gives the details we have come to associate with the 6-inch map on a reduced scale so that a larger area can be taken in at a glance. The revision is far from complete, and one sheet examined by the writer contains a score of items that are unsatisfactory from one cause or another. This is, however, a matter for collaboration rather than for criticism, because it is pointed out in the text of the pamphlet that the Director-General of the Survey specially invites constructive criticism from users of the sheets of the Provisional edition. It is intended that the map shall, as a result of progressive improvements, be made as perfect as possible.

The pamphlet contains much technical information on the Ordnance Survey work and discusses future developments, particularly the Resurvey of Britain that is in prospect. It shows how all the new map series are to be interrelated, the National Grid being the linkage; the new 1-inch map, for example, has an index diagram from which to discover the designation of any larger-scale Ordnance Survey map or plan included in its area.

This pamphlet should be on the reference shelf of all field-workers.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

- ANTIQUITY, no. 85, March 1948:—The Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: a review, by Elaine Sanceau; People without a history, by O. G. S. Crawford; Eel-spears, by C. Green; Fire-dogs again, by S. Piggott; The technique of prehistoric metal-work: a review, by V. Gordon Childe; Deraheib gold-mines, by the late Sir D. Newbold.
- No. 86, June 1948:—Archaeology in Nigeria: an official report; Notes on Minoan chronology, by R. W. Hutchinson; Recent work in the Dodecanese and Cyrenaica, by T. Buxton Brown; Open arable fields at Portland and elsewhere, by C. D. Drew; Nechtanesmere, by F. T. Wainwright; Reflections on Collingwood's *Idea of History*, by J. S. Slotkin.
- ARCH. JOURN., vol. 103:—Prehistoric Lincolnshire, by C. F. C. Hawkes with a note by H. E. Dudley; Roman Ancaster, Horncastle, and Caistor, by C. F. C. Hawkes; The Roman city of Lincoln, by I. A. Richmond; the four *coloniae* of Roman Britain, by I. A. Richmond; Lincoln in the fifth century A.D., by J. N. L. Myres; Pagan Anglian and other antiquities, and coins, by C. F. C. Hawkes and others; A lost inscription of pre-Danish age from Caistor, by C. A. R. Radford; Anglo-Danish Lincolnshire and the deserted villages of the Wolds, by C. F. C. Hawkes; Lincoln Cathedral: the eleventh-century design for the west front, by F. Saxl; The stained-glass decoration of Lincoln Cathedral in the thirteenth century, by J. Lafond; The Castle and City of Lincoln, by J. W. F. Hill, A. Hamilton Thompson, and others; Lincolnshire priories, abbeys, and parish churches, by Sir A. Clapham, K. Major, and others; Castles and country houses, monuments, and collections of pictures and sculpture, by Sir A. Clapham, M. Whinney, E. K. Waterhouse, and others.
- JOURN. SOC. ARMY HIST. RESEARCH, vol. 35, no. 104:—Trooper I. Harmer, 10th Hussars, *circa* 1833, by Rev. P. Sumner; More light on Almanza: from the Hawley papers, by C. T. Atkinson; George IV's Wardrobe accounts, 1793 to 1828, by Rev. P. Sumner.
- Vol. 36, no. 105:—Sergeant Thoms, 15th Hussars, *circa* 1832, by Rev. P. Sumner; The 2nd/53rd in the Peninsular War, by S. H. F. Johnston; The Royal Fusiliers in 1790, by Rev. P. Sumner; Kettle-drums as trophies, by H. G. Farmer.
- Vol. 36, no. 106:—The 3rd (or King's Own) Light Dragoons, 1832, by L. E. Buckell; The Trophy Ceremony at the Royal Hospital, by Capt. C. G. T. Dean; Scottish Militia Regiments, 1798–1881: their badges and buttons, by Maj. H. G. Parkyn; The Royal Artillery mounted band, 1748–1948, by H. G. Farmer; The proposed expedition to the River Plate in 1798, ed. by C. T. Atkinson; Private Bednell, 12th Lancers, *circa* 1832, by Rev. P. Sumner; An officer of the Black Watch in the American Revolution, by Rev. P. Sumner.
- ANNUAL OF BRIT. SCH. AT ATHENS, no. 42 (1947):—The Mycenaean pottery of Attica, by F. H. Stubbings; The Hoplite phalanx, by H. L. Lorimer; Athenian workshops around 700, by J. M. Cook; Hagios Nikolaos near Astakos in Akarnania, by S. Benton; Antiquities of Amari, by T. J. Dunbabin; The ancient docks on the promontory of Sunion, by E. J. A. Kenny; Some published inscriptions of Roman date from Cyprus, by T. B. Mitford; Notes on an inscription from Chios, by N. M. Kontoleon.
- BURLINGTON MAG., Feb. 1948:—Sculpture and painting chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts: Prehistoric sculpture in the Exhibition and a note on certain figurines, by Stuart Piggott; Indian Sculpture at Burlington House, by Jeannine Auboyer; Western Indian painting in the sixteenth century: the origins of the Rajput School, by B. Gray; Mughal paintings at Burlington House, by E. F. Wellesz.
- March, 1948:—Early Ming blue-and-white, II, by G. Reitlinger and M. Button.
- April, 1948:—Nicholas Hilliard and Queen Elizabeth's third great seal, by N. Blakiston.
- CAMDEN MISCELLANY, vol. 18:—The Benares diary of Warren Hastings, ed. by C. C. Davies; Some letters of the Duke of Wellington to his brother William Wellesley-Pole, ed. by Prof. Sir C. Webster; The Restoration Visitation of the University of Oxford and its Colleges, ed. by F. J. Varley.

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March 1948: Indian sculpture and bronzes—I, by V. S. Swaminathan; Wall seats and settles of the sixteenth century, by M. Adams-Acton; Duke William's Chinese yacht, by Dr. B. Gardner; Huguenot clock and watch makers: additions and amendments to Britten, by R. N. Hill; Some XVIII-century fencing books, by J. D. Aylward; A Silesian gold embroidery of the fifteenth century, by B. Kurth; The Tristram casket: a recent acquisition by the British Museum.

JOURN. EGYPTIAN ARCH., vol. 33:—Horemkhatuef of Nekhen and his trip to Iṯ-towe, by W. C. Hayes; Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos, by H. W. Fairman and B. Grdseloff; The wars of Sethos I, by R. O. Faulkner; A Syrian trading venture to Egypt, by N. de G. Davis and R. O. Faulkner; Some remarks on the terms *ḥḥ* and *ḥḥ*, by E. Iversen; Graffiti at the Wādī el-'Allāḳī, by Jaroslav Černý; The position of Ast-Raset, by G. A. Wainwright; Four Kushite Colossi in the Sudan, by D. Dunham; Letters from Maspero to Amelia Edwards, by W. R. Dawson.

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IRAQ, vol. 9, part 2:—Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar, part III: Catalogue, by M. E. L. Mallowan.

NUM. CHRON., 6th ser., vol. 6, nos. 23–4:—The ancient coinage of Malta, by C. Seltman; *Dives Anagnia*, by H. Mattingly; On the 'style' of early Athenian Coins, by C. Seltman; The monetary systems of the Roman Empire from Diocletian to Theodosius I, by H. Mattingly; Islamic coins with Hindu types, by J. Walker; Notes on Greek and Kushan coins from N.W. India, by Maj.-Gen. H. L. Haughton; Some unpublished Roman and English coins, by B. W. Pearce; The Darfield hoard of Roman denarii, by J. Walker; The Cadeby (Doncaster) hoard, by N. Smedley; Coins from Hickleton (Yorkshire), by N. Smedley; A Civil War hoard from Canterbury, by J. Allan; A small Roman hoard from Winchester, by H. Mattingly; the Worle Camp (Somerset) hoard, the Redenhall (Norfolk) hoard, the Cranfield (Bedford) hoard, the Wiveliscombe (Somerset) hoard, 1946, by P. V. Hill; Two fourth-century over-strikes, by P. V. Hill; The Bermondsey hoard, by H. Mattingly; The Tuddenham (Suffolk) hoard of siliquae, by H. Mattingly and J. W. E. Pearce; Abraham Vanderdort and the coinage of Charles I, by D. F. Allen.

MARINER'S MIRROR, vol. 34, no. 1:—The early history of Portsmouth Dockyard, 1496–1800, by Vice-Ad. Sir H. Kitson; The King's College Chapel window ship, by K. Harrison; The Chinese war-junk, by C. R. G. Worcester; The first clipper, by H. I. Chapelle; The case of M. de la Touche, by

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PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY, July-Oct. 1947:—The beginnings of Phoenician epigraphy according to a letter written by Wilhelm Gesenius in 1835, by O. Eissenfeldt; Two connected problems relating to the Israelite settlement in Transjordan, II, by J. Simons; Moriah-Ariel, II, by Dr. S. Krauss; Architectural observations on some rock-cut tombs, by N. Avigad; Mistranslations, by G. R. Driver; A note on the Kenya Conference, by J. Waechter; A note on IV Ezra, by C. N. Bromehead.

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BULL. JOHN RYLANDS LIB., vol. 31, no. 1:—The Zu bud, by T. Fish.

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L. R. A. Grove; Three old Allerton homesteads, by W. Robertshaw; Will of John Brooksbank of Bradford.

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ESSEX REV. vol. 57, no. 225:—Danbury Place—Park-Palace in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by M. Hopkirk; The moated site at Mundon—a footnote, by Lt.-Col. A. R. Solly; Charles Gray, M.P. of Colchester, by L. C. Sier; Household goods at Great Bromley Hall, 1763, by C. Partridge; Elementary education of the poor in Essex in the early nineteenth century, by R. D. Bodley; The old City family of Say and its connexion with Essex, by L. G. H. Horton-Smith; The account-book of an eighteenth-century Maldon tradesman, by F. W. Steer.

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background of Zephaniah, by J. P. Hyatt; The sepulchres of the kings of the House of David, by S. Yeivin; The shoulder ornament of the Near Eastern lions, by A. J. Arkell; Dr. Waterman's views concerning the Solomonic Temple, by G. E. Wright; A rebuttal, by L. Waterman.

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REVUE BÉNÉDICTINE, tome 57:—La sagesse préparée pour les élus, par J. Dupont; Une ancienne version latine inédite de deux homélies de S. Basile, par D. Amand; Hilarius Gallicano cothurno attolitur, par P. Antin; Collection antique de sermons de S. Augustin, par C. Lambot; Le sermon cxi de S. Augustin, par C. Lambot; Prédication et rhétorique au temps de S. Augustin, par J. Leclercq; La compilation augustinienne de Florus sur l'apôtre, par C. Charlier; Consultationes Zacchaei Christiani et Apollonii Philosophi: a source of S. Isidore of Seville, by A. C. Lawson; Une catéchèse baptismale du IX^e siècle, par A. Wilmart; Un bréviaire de Cluny, par D. P. Blanchard.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

Thursday, 5th February 1948. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. G. Allen, Mr. F. W. Robins, and Mrs. H. E. O'Neil were admitted Fellows.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society: Mr. C. F. Tebbutt, Mr. J. S. P. Bradford, Mr. J. Salmon, Mr. L. Fox, Mr. W. G. Davis, Miss M. R. Toynbee, Mr. W. R. G. Kent, Hon. G. R. Bellew, Mrs. D. E. Martin Clarke, Miss B. M. Blackwood, Miss A. J. Godber, Mr. T. R. F. Thomson, Mr. T. K. Penniman, Sir N. G. A. Edgley, Mr. W. E. Tate, Mr. K. J. Ritchie.

Mr. R. L. S. Bruce Mitford exhibited the Benty Grange Anglo-Saxon helmet, by courtesy of the Sheffield Museum; Mr. G. H. S. Bushnell exhibited a terra cotta object described as a 'thuribulum' found at Great Chesterford about 1846, and a lead bird from Shefford, Beds., found about 1836; Dr. W. L. Hildburgh exhibited nine mixed enamels from Cologne *c. A.D. 1200*, perhaps from the Shrine of the Magi, a copper-gilt filigree plaque from the same shrine, the property of Mrs. Schilling, and a gilt repoussé copper head, Cologne, *c. A.D. 1200*; Mr. R. H. D'Elboux exhibited an English delft plate bearing the arms of Godfrey impaling Iles, for Thomas Godfrey, ob. 1664.

Thursday, 12th February 1948. W. H. Godfrey, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. H. Williams, Hon. G. R. Bellew, Mr. J. D. K. Lloyd, and Mr. W. Currall were admitted Fellows.

Miss U. Radford read a paper on the wax images found in Exeter Cathedral, some of which were exhibited.

Mr. F. Wormald, F.S.A., read a paper on some fifteenth-century miniatures of the Inauguration of a Knight of the Bath.

Thursday, 26th February 1948. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. R. G. Kent, Mr. T. R. F. Thomson, Rev. A. G. G. Thurlow, Miss M. R. Toynbee, and Mrs. D. E. Martin Clarke were admitted Fellows.

Mr. R. L. S. Bruce Mitford, F.S.A., read a paper on the Sutton Hoo musical instrument. Mrs. Arnold Dolmetsch demonstrated the musical qualities of a reconstructed model of the harp and Mr. Crossley-Holland played on a model of the thirteenth-century harp from Trinity College, Dublin.

Thursday, 4th March 1948. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society: Mr. F. G. Carruthers, Mr. J. M. Cook, Mr. W. A. Seaby, Capt. H. T. A. Bosanquet, Mr. H. E. Dudley, Prof. H. O. Corfiato, the Marquess of Salisbury, Mr. R. H. C. Davis, Mr. E. A. Bullmore, Mr. E. D. Tappe, Mr. C. Berry, Mr. C. B. M. McBurney, Mr. K. B. McFarlane, Mr. T. G. E. Powell, Major P. D. R. Williams-Hunt, Mr. P. L. Shinnie.

Mr. M. R. Hull exhibited a Roman bronze figure of Mercury found at Colchester and an Early Iron Age 'andiron' from near Chelmsford. Mr. M. R. Holmes exhibited a kidney dagger found in London. Mr. B. W. Pearce exhibited a collection of objects found at Middleham Castle by H.M. Ministry of Works; Dr. W. L. Hildburgh exhibited crucifix figures of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, a metal cross (? Flemish), *c. A.D. 1400*, and seven enamelled copper pieces from a fourteenth-century cross.

Thursday, 11th March 1948. Miss M. V. Taylor, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. H. Evans, Capt. H. T. A. Bosanquet, Prof. H. O. Corfiato, and Mr. T. G. E. Powell were admitted Fellows.

Dr. Nordenfalk read a paper entitled 'Before the Book of Durrow: an enquiry into the beginning of Early Insular (or Anglo-Irish) book decoration.' A manuscript of the Gospels (MS. A. II. 10) from the Cathedral Library of Durham was exhibited by permission of the Dean and Chapter.

Thursday, 18th March 1948. W. H. Godfrey, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. A. Seaby, Mr. F. G. Carruthers, Mr. E. A. Bullmore, and Mr. T. B. Mitford were admitted Fellows.

Sir James Mann, Director, read a paper on a Moorish shield in the Armouries of the Tower of London, the shield being exhibited.

Mr. W. Watson read a paper on the bronzes found at Felmersham, Bedfordshire.

Thursday, 8th April 1948. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Miss F. E. Harmer, Mr. C. A. F. Berry, Miss B. M. Blackwood, Mr. J. S. P. Bradford, and Sir Norman Edgley were admitted Fellows.

Mr. R. Rainbird Clarke, F.S.A., and Mr. J. N. L. Myres, F.S.A., read a paper on the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Caistor-by-Norwich.

Friday, 23rd April 1948, Anniversary Meeting. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. E. D. Tappe, Mr. R. H. C. Davis, Mr. K. J. Ritchie, and Mr. T. A. L. Concannon were admitted Fellows.

Mr. Lewis Edwards and Mr. D. B. Harden were appointed Scrutators of the Ballot.

The following report of the Council for the year 1947-8 was read:—

Research.—Grants from the Research Fund have been made for the further investigation of bombed sites and development areas in London, Canterbury, Chester, Dover, Exeter, and Southwark, for excavations at Ascot Doyley (Oxon.), Llwyndu bach (Caernarvonshire), Sabrata (Tripolitania), for the investigation of palaeolithic sites in Cyrenaica, of a pond barrow at Winterbourne Steepleton, and towards the expenses of students in connexion with a survey of Watergate Street, Chester.

Morris Fund.—Grants from the Morris Fund have been made towards the repair of the churches at Harpenden (Herts.), Egham (Surrey), Pickworth (Lincs.), for the glass in Churchstanton Church (Somerset) and South Creake (Norfolk), for the arrangement and permanent exhibition of Anglian sculptured stones at Monkwearmouth, for the repair of the Blackfriars Archway, Gloucester, and of the Kelmscott village cross, and for the replacement of a brass at Marcham (Berks.).

Publications.—The *Antiquaries Journal* has appeared regularly. *Archaeologia*, volume 92, was published early in 1948. Research reports on the Excavations at the Jewry Wall site in Leicester, by Miss K. M. Kenyon, and a fourth report on Richborough, by Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox, are in proof and will be published during next session. Mr. A. R. Wagner's *Catalogue of Rolls of Arms* is also being printed for publication in conjunction with the Harleian Society.

Library.—A start has been made with the arrangement and cataloguing of the Society's miscellaneous collection of prints, drawings, and letters. The disposal of duplicate volumes in the Library is being carried out, opportunity to purchase these being in the first place accorded to Fellows.

General.—Regular meetings have been held throughout the session and attendances have been satisfactory. On November 27th an Extraordinary Meeting made alterations to the Statutes, Cap. III, Sections i-iii, fixing the annual subscription at six guineas and the entrance fee at twelve guineas for Fellows elected after January 1st, 1948, and amending the life composition fee in conformity. The invitation to existing Fellows voluntarily to augment their subscriptions has met with a good response.

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The following have been appointed to represent the Society: Sir Alfred Clapham on the Council of the British School at Rome, Mr. D. B. Harden on the Council of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, Prof. C. F. C. Hawkes on the Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching, Sir James Mann on the Convention of the European Castle Research Institute, and Dr. I. A. Richmond on the Chester Excavation Committee.

The following gifts other than books have been received:—

From the Misses Beanlands, in memory of their father Canon A. J. Beanlands, F.S.A.:—
An Elizabethan communion cup (*P.S.A.* xxvi, 152).

From F. A. Greenhill, Esq.:—
Rubbings of two slabs at Dundrennan Abbey.

From Mrs. W. H. Hall:—
Unpublished typescript by W. Hamilton Hall, F.S.A., entitled 'A great Babylonian, The Maker of Chalak', with note-books, photographs, &c.

From A. Hawley, Esq.:—
A bound volume of letters entitled, 'Letters, chiefly on literary subjects, addressed to G. Steinman Steinman, Esq., F.S.A.'

From R. W. Ketton-Cremer, Esq., F.S.A.:—
A portrait medallion of Martin Folkes, P.S.A.

From Rear-Admiral H. G. Thursfield, F.S.A.:—
Typescript and photographic copy of pages from The Court Book of the Commission of Sewers for the Isle of Wight (1713-27) and Letters Patent issued by George III in 1776 reappointing the Commission.

From Miss P. G. Mann:—
MS. diary of T. Crofton Croker, F.S.A., for 1852.

From the Monumental Brass Society:—
Rubbing of palimpsest brass from Waterperry, Oxon.

The following acquisitions, other than books, have been made during the year:—

Original paintings by various artists made for *Antiquities of England and Wales*, by F. Grose.
23 photographs of medieval wall-paintings at Longthorpe Hall, Northants.

Microfilm of Lord Winchelsea's MS. of Dugdale and Sidgwick, *Survey of Monuments in English Churches*.

Obituary.—The following Fellows have died since the last Anniversary:—

Ordinary Fellows

Herbert Caleb Andrews, M.A., 21st December 1947.

Ernest Axon, 15th July 1947.

Rev. Richard Grosvenor Bartelot, M.A., 8th May 1947.

Walter Henry Brazil, M.D., 10th February 1947.

Frank Ernest Burton, J.P., May 1947.

Walter Edward Collinge, D.Sc., 24th November 1947.

Major Ernest Read Cooper, 11th February 1948.

Lt.-Col. Herbert Henry Douglas-Withers, M.C., 13th January 1948.

William Alexander Devereux Englefield, LL.B., 23rd April 1948.

Theodore Wilfrid Fry, B.A., O.B.E., J.P., 1st June 1947.

Hugh Percival Wharton Gatty, M.A., 18th March 1948.

Rev. Edward Hungerford Goddard, M.A., 20th July 1947.

Col. Ernest Leigh Grange, M.A., LL.D., 10th September 1947.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Herbert Hensley Henson, D.D., 28th September 1947.

Brig.-Gen. Fane Lambarde, C.M.G., D.S.O., 21st February 1948.

Charles Symonds Leaf, B.A., February 1947.

Arthur Hamilton, Viscount Lee of Fareham, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Hon. LL.D., Hon. F.R.I.B.A., 21st July 1947.

Rev. Canon Harold Davies Littler, M.A., 3rd January 1948.

Sir John Lloyd, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., 20th June 1947.

Thomas Geoffrey Lucas, 3rd October 1947.

John Wolfe Lydekker, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., 21st January 1948.

Bryan Pontifex, 30th June 1947.

Albert Leopold Reckitt, 5th June 1947.

Henry Francis Traylen, F.R.I.B.A., 5th July 1947.

Honorary Fellow

Christian Blinkenberg, 1948.

HERBERT CALEB ANDREWS, who died on 21st December 1947, was elected F.S.A. in 1931. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, he joined the staff of the Victoria and Albert Museum. He became Assistant Librarian and was later in charge of the Photographic Department. When he retired in 1935 he was able to devote himself to the work of the East Herts. Archaeological Society, of which he had become Joint Secretary in 1922, and to the Museum at Bull Plain, Hertford, which had been founded by his father. He was Secretary of the Society for twenty-two years and was indefatigable in organizing excursions and editing the *Transactions* to which he was a frequent contributor himself. The Hertford Museum, to which he and his father had devoted so much of their energies, was made over to the town of Hertford shortly before his death.

ERNEST AXON died on 15th July 1947 at his home in Buxton. Born in 1868, he entered the service of the Manchester Public Libraries in 1881, retiring, as deputy chief librarian, after fifty-one years' service. His chief interests lay in local history and genealogy, and papers by him appeared in the transactions of many local antiquarian and record societies, particularly those of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society. Of this Society he became President in 1920, having served on the Council from 1910. He was elected F.S.A. in 1924.

CHRISTIAN BLINKENBERG, who died recently at the age of 85, was elected an Honorary Fellow in 1933. He was a member of the staff of the Danish National Museum from 1888 until 1916, and taught archaeology at the University of Copenhagen from 1911 to 1926. Educated as a classical philologist, he combined a wide knowledge of classical and Scandinavian archaeology with that of Folklore and the History of Religion. This rare combination forms the background of his study of the Thunderweapon, published in 1909. From 1902 to 1905 he conducted (with K. F. Kinch) the excavations of Lindos at Rhodes. The last decades of his life were devoted to the publication of the results of this excavation, the volume on the Minor objects appearing in 1931 and that on Inscriptions in 1941. Another fruit of his Rhodian studies is the *Knidia* (1933), a monograph on the masterpiece of Praxiteles. He contributed to the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* the fascicule dealing with the Greek vases of the Danish National Museum.

He was a great personality as well as an eminent scholar, and his death means a severe loss to the learned world of his country.

MAJOR ERNEST READ COOPER, who died on 11th February 1948, was elected F.S.A. in 1929 and was Local Secretary for Suffolk. Born in 1865, he was at school at Yarmouth and

became Town Clerk, Clerk to the Magistrates, and Secretary to the Water Company at Southwold. He was a member of the Council of the Suffolk Archaeological Society, Vice-President of the Suffolk Preservation Society, and wrote a number of books and contributed many articles to the press on local lore.

THEODORE WILFRID FRY, who died on 1st June 1947 at the age of 79, had been a Fellow for fifty-five years. He was an exhibitor of New College, Oxford, where he took a first in History in 1889. Called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1893 he joined the North-Eastern Circuit. He was appointed stipendiary magistrate for Middlesbrough in 1908, where he remained until transferred to London in 1920, serving first at Woolwich and later at Tower Bridge and Bow Street. Though he took little active part in the work of the Society, his attachment to it was evidenced by a legacy at his death.

HUGH PERCIVAL WHARTON GATTY, who was elected F.S.A. in 1938, died suddenly on 18th March 1948 at the age of 41. He was educated at Harrow, entered St. John's College, Cambridge as an exhibitor in history, being elected to a Fellowship in 1931. His interest lay in the archives and treasures of the College of which he was appointed Librarian in 1937. He had recently become Secretary of the Walpole Society and of the Cambridge and County Folk Museum.

REV. EDWARD HUNGERFORD GODDARD, who died on 20th July 1947, was elected F.S.A. in 1927. Born in 1854, he was educated at Winchester and Brasenose College, Oxford, and was ordained priest in 1879. He was vicar of Clyffe Pypard from 1883 until his retirement fifty-two years later. In 1929 he was appointed to the prebend of Preston in Salisbury Cathedral. To him Archaeology owes a very deep debt of gratitude for his very careful recording of Wiltshire sites and objects in the *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, of which he was General Secretary and Editor from 1890 to 1942, having joined the Society in 1877.

RT. REV. HERBERT HENSLEY HENSON, Bishop of Durham from 1920 to 1939, died at Hintlesham, near Ipswich, on 27th September 1947. Born at Broadstairs in 1863, he spent his boyhood in an atmosphere of old-fashioned Nonconformity. Entering Oxford as a non-collegiate student, he took a first in history in 1884 and was elected a Fellow of All Souls. Ordained in 1884, he became head of Oxford House, Bethnal Green. After seven years as vicar of All Hallows, Barking, Lord Salisbury nominated him in 1900 to a canonry of Westminster and the rectory of St. Margaret's. He was appointed Dean of Durham in 1912 by Mr. Asquith, Bishop of Hereford by Mr. Lloyd George in 1917, and was translated to Durham three years later. After his retirement from Durham he was reinstated in 1940 as a canon of Westminster by Mr. Winston Churchill. He received honorary degrees from the universities of Oxford, Durham, Glasgow, and St. Andrews. His voluminous writings included works on English religion in the seventeenth century and on Puritanism. He was elected F.S.A. in 1932, but his ecclesiastical duties prevented him from taking an active part in the work of the Society.

BRIG.-GEN. FRANCIS FANE LAMBARDE, who died at Sevenoaks on 21st February 1948, was elected F.S.A. in 1913. He resigned in 1923, but was re-elected four years later and served on the Council in 1930 and 1931. Born at Sevenoaks in 1868, he entered the Royal Artillery and saw service in the South African War, gaining the Queen's medal with four clasps, and in the First World War, when he was mentioned in dispatches and won the D.S.O. He was also Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and held both the French and Belgian Croix de Guerre. A keen amateur herald, he was responsible for many articles elucidating heraldic problems in Kent and Sussex, and made complete heraldic visitations of the churches of both counties, only that of Sussex having been published. He was a benefactor to the Society's Library.

ARTHUR HAMILTON LEE, VISCOUNT LEE OF FAREHAM, who died last year on 21st July at the age of 78, was the second son of the Rev. Melville Lee, rector of Bridport. From his earliest years he showed those qualities of energy and determination which inspired his long and active career.

He entered the Army from Woolwich in 1888, but was not content to live the life of the conventional gunner subaltern. In the space of twelve years he was adjutant of the Hong Kong Volunteers, Lecturer in Strategy and Tactics at the R.M.C. Canada, British Military Attaché to the American Army in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, and subsequently Lieut.-Colonel at the British Embassy at Washington. He also acted as a newspaper correspondent during the Klondyke Gold Rush. In 1899 he married Ruth Moore of New York, retired from the Army, and entered Parliament in 1900. Within three years he was a member of the Balfour Government as a Civil Lord of the Admiralty. In 1915 he assisted Lloyd George in the drive for munitions, and abandoning his earlier prejudices he came under the spell of the latter's personality and remained his active supporter in the Coalition Government until its end. His last post in the Cabinet was as First Lord of the Admiralty. After the fall of the Coalition in 1922 he abandoned politics and devoted his energies to the arts, though he remained in demand as a Chairman of Royal Commissions and committees of inquiry. His personal drive shortened their deliberations and produced reports with promptitude, however controversial the subject. Among them were the Aerial Defence Committee (as early as 1910), the Public Services in India, Police Pay and Pensions, the Radium Commission, and the Thames Bridges.

In 1910 he acquired the house and estate of Chequers in Buckinghamshire, which gave scope for his antiquarian and collecting interests. He made considerable alterations to the house, removing later accretions and restoring to it its Elizabethan character. He filled it with furniture and pictures, and in 1921 handed it over to the nation as a residence for the Prime Minister as the joint gift of himself and Lady Lee. He then set about forming a second and more extensive private collection, principally of Old Masters. He acquired from the Crown a lease of White Lodge in Richmond Park, where his galleries were open to students from all over the world. In 1923 he organized in the face of some scepticism the Exhibition of British Primitive Art at Burlington House. Irritated by the often contradictory pronouncements of experts, he formed the idea of establishing in England a University Institute for teaching the history of art. Rebuffed at Oxford, he turned to London, and, enlisting the whole-hearted co-operation of the late Samuel Courtauld, persuaded London University to accept, as one of its major components, the Courtauld Institute of Art, of which he became the first Chairman of the committee of management. He was Trustee and Chairman of the National Gallery, a Trustee of the Wallace Collection, Deputy-Chairman of the Royal Fine Arts Commission, an active member of the Executive Committee of the National Art Collections Fund, and Chairman of the Warburg Institute. He was also Chairman of Christ's Hospital and Life Governor of Cheltenham, his old school, and of several hospitals.

In his latter years Lee added quite another side to his varied career by taking an active interest in the cinema business, becoming Vice-President of Fox Films and Vice-Chairman of Gaumont-British Picture Corporation.

He was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1924, and during the recent war gave shelter to some of the Society's most valuable treasures in his house in Gloucestershire.

SIR JOHN EDWARD LLOYD died on 20th June 1947 at the age of 86. Born at Liverpool in 1861 he was educated at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and Lincoln College, Oxford, where he took a first in modern history in 1885. After lecturing at Aberystwyth and Bangor University College, he became Professor of History there in 1899. His *History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (1911) will remain a standard authority. He

edited the *History of Carmarthenshire*, 1935-9, and was chief editor of the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. His knighthood in 1934, honorary doctorate of the University of Wales, and Fellowship of the British Academy were recognitions of his eminence in historical scholarship. He was Chairman of the Board of Celtic Studies, of the Ancient Monuments Commission for Wales, and President of the Cambrian Archaeological Association and freeman of the City of Bangor. He was elected F.S.A. in 1919.

HENRY FRANCIS TRAYLEN, who died on 5th July 1947, was elected F.S.A. in 1927 and was a Local Secretary for both Lincolnshire and Rutland. Born at Leicester in 1874, he was educated at Stamford School. As an architect he gained experience as expert in ecclesiastical architecture to the Admiralty and as assistant to the surveyor of Windsor Castle. The remainder of his life was spent in Stamford, where the survival of much of Stamford's ancient architecture is due to his vigilance. He succeeded his father as surveyor of ecclesiastical dilapidations in the Archdeaconry of Oakham. All the Stamford churches and many others up and down the country, particularly in Northamptonshire and Rutland, bear evidence of his work. The R.I.B.A. silver star was awarded to him in 1901. He was President of the Northants., Beds., and Hunts. Association of Architects from 1939 to 1944 and joint secretary and treasurer of the Rutland Archaeological Society.

The Scrutators having handed in their report, the following were declared elected officers and members of Council for the ensuing year: Sir Cyril Fox, President; Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Treasurer; Sir James Mann, Director; Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary; Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, Mr. G. H. S. Bushnell, Dr. Joan Evans, Prof. D. Garrod, Mr. J. A. Giuseppi, Mr. W. H. Godfrey, Dr. Rose Graham, Prof. C. F. C. Hawkes, Mr. J. F. Head, Prof. S. H. Hooke, Mr. I. D. Margary, Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Dr. I. A. Richmond, Rev. T. Romans, Mr. A. J. Taylor, Major F. W. Tomlinson, Dr. J. M. C. Toynbee.

The President then delivered the Anniversary Address (pp. 115-22), and presented the Gold Medal of the Society for distinguished services to archaeology to Sir Alfred William Clapham. On the motion of Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Vice-President, the following resolution was carried unanimously: 'That the best thanks of the meeting be given to the President for his Address and that he be requested to allow it to be printed.' The President signified his assent.

Thursday, 29th April 1947. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Miss A. J. Godber, Miss E. Matley Moore, and Mr. M. Maclagan were admitted Fellows.

The President announced that he had appointed Miss Joan Evans to be a Vice-President of the Society.

Mr. John Charlton, F.S.A., read a paper on the Palaces of Henry III with special reference to Clarendon.

Thursday, 6th May 1948. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. Arkell was admitted a Fellow.

M. André Parrot read a paper on his excavations at Mari.

Thursday, 13th May 1948. W. H. Godfrey, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:—as Honorary Fellows: Donald Lindsay Galbreath, Esq. and Dr. Bengt Thordeman. As Ordinary Fellows: Mr. J. P. Heathcote, Mrs. M. B. Heyneman, Mr. F. D. Price, Mr. P. A. M. Freeman, Mr. W. B. Honey, Mr. H. E. Bell, Mr. P. Russell, Lt.-Col. S. E. Glendenning, Miss U. M. Radford, and Prof. G. R. Owst.

The 'Small Maniple' of St. Cuthbert was exhibited by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral; Mr. M. R. Holmes, F.S.A. exhibited an ivory chess-piece, c. 1540; and

Mr. C. J. P. Cave, F.S.A. exhibited vertical photographs of the effigies in the chantries at Winchester.

Thursday, 27th May 1948. Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. E. Bell, Mr. F. G. Blair, Miss U. M. Radford, Mr. J. P. Heathcote, Mr. P. A. M. Freeman, Mr. F. D. Price, Mr. R. G. Goodchild, and Mr. C. F. Tebbutt were admitted Fellows.

Dr. Graham Clark, F.S.A. read a paper on Excavations in the Cambridgeshire Car Dyke, 1947.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were then adjourned until Thursday, 28th October 1948.

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